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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 4/81)



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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ANALYZES U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, STRATEGY IN 70'S

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII in Russian No 9, Sep 80 signed to press 12 Sep 80 pp 137-140

[Review by V. G. Trukhanovskiy, member-correspondent, USSR Academy of Sciences, of the book "Global'naya strategiya SShA v usloviyakh nauchno-tekhnicheskoy revolyutsii" [The Global Strategy of the USA in Terms of the Scientific and Technological Revolution] edited by G. A. Arbatov, V. V. Zhurkin, V. I. Pavlyuchenko; Collective Authorship: G. A. Arbatov, I. Ye. Artem'yev, L. A. Bagramov, Anat. A. Gromyko, V. V. Zhurkin, V. I. Zvolinskiy, R. I. Zimenkov, A. K. Kislov, Ye. G. Kutovoy, V. V. Larionov, M. A. Mil'shteyn, V. I. Pavlyuchenko, A. B. Parkanskiy, V. F. Petrovskiy, V. D. Pisarev, L. S. Semeyko, Yu. G. Strel'tsov, G. A. Trofimenko, G. S. Khozin, I. L. Sheydina, T. N. Yudina; Izdatel'stvo Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 11,500 copies, 452 pages]

[Text] Soviet progress in American studies has been marked by the appearance in recent years of a large series of scientific studies devoted to the economic system, ideology, social problems, class and political struggle within the United States of America, and above all, to its foreign policy, role and place in current international relations. This positive trend in our discipline provides an indication of international scholars' understanding of the fact that throughout the entire post-war period, and especially in the last one-and-a-half to two decades, the importance for worldwide politics and for the fate of the earth and mankind of relations between the great socialist power, the USSR, and the leading world capitalist nation, the USA, has been growing.

The Soviet reader recently received one of the most substantial and thorough studies on this subject, a monograph devoted to the global strategy of the USA in terms of the scientific and technological revolution. It was written by associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences' United States of America and Canada Institute in collaboration with a number of authors employed in institutions engaged in putting into practice Soviet foreign policy.

The authorial collective successfully attempted to examine, on a total basis, how the global strategy of the USA has been changing in terms of and under the influence of the scientific and technological revolution. Changes in this area occurring in the 1970's, which were distinguished by dynamism and significant improvements in international affairs, interested the authors first and foremost. Thus, the period of international detente for which the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and all peace-loving forces have fought so unselfishly, and to the sound appeal of which rationally-thinking statesmen in the USA responded, was the subject of research.

The great merit of the work lies in the fact that the authors do not simply trace this or that aggregation of facts and phenomena concerning the global policy of the USA but accompany the analysis with valuable syntheses. This is a characteristic not only

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of the first chapter, constituting a theoretical introduction to the subject of research, but also of the remaining chapters, in which specific courses of American global policy are examined.

The authors rightly note that only Marxist-Leninist theory has succeeded in properly explaining new phenomena resulting from the scientific and technological revolution in the complex picture of the current epoch. The scientific and technological revolution is a process born of prolonged accumulation of human knowledge in various areas, which has led to fundamental qualitative improvements. "The essence of this revolution lies precisely in the broad incursion of science and scientific methods into public production and other spheres of social events, and in the creation of a complex mechanism which provides a new, essentially higher level of organization and mobilization of the primary creative powers of humanity; its intellectual potential and accomplished works. This is also the original source of the continuously accelerating flow of innovations in all fields, which is driven by the contemporary scientific and technological revolution" (p.8).

This revolution is ever more strongly exerting influence on all spheres of public life, and it is changing many established, traditional ideas. The authors illustrate this concept by pointing to the fact that, as a result of the scientific and technological revolution, notions regarding the power and might of contemporary governments have changed. Their writings assert that the issue here is not limited to processes occurring in science, technology and industry. Another still more important aspect of the problem involves characteristics of social and political conditions in the world in which the scientific and technological revolution is unfolding. Above all, this concerns the class struggle both in individual countries and on a worldwide scale, and the historically inevitable conflict between socialism and capitalism. The scientific and technical revolution, the authors of the study convincingly show, is revealing truly unlimited possibilities for the solution of the most acute problems facing humanity--overcoming poverty and hunger, conquering diseases and prolonging human life, and accelerating progress in under-developed nations. Capitalism, however, hinders the utilization of the scientific and technological revolution for the welfare of people. In the first place, the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution are directed towards satisfying the profit-making interests of the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. In the second place, the most reactionary and aggressive forces in the bourgeois world are pursuing an international policy of the kind which is creating a threat to the very existence of mankind, including the ultimate degree of this threat, thermo-nuclear war.

Fortunately for the earth and the fate of mankind, socialist countries, because of the class nature of their social structure, are using the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution differently. They are directing them towards the discovery of wider means for social progress than were ever possible before, and similarly towards strengthening the cause of peace and national security and preventing thermo-nuclear war.

American capitalism is attempting to use the scientific and technological revolution to solve the social problems whose contradictions are tearing it asunder and threatening its very existence. However, in the end, as the authors rightly note, this will merely lead to further undermining the foundations of the obsolete social system and aggravating the contradictions of this society. Because of its economic and military-technological capability, the USA has simultaneously determined on using the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution in the class goals of its foreign

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policy. The authors justifiably provide the following classification of trends in the utilization of the scientific and technological revolution in the foreign policy of the USA: first, there is the improvement of military technology with a view towards creating a military machine needed for the realization of American imperialism's aggressive intentions; second, there is the use of scientific and technological capability with a view towards foreign economic expansion; third, there is the establishment of new forms of dependence and relationships with other nations, under which those nations would be bound to American scientific and technological potential; fourth, there is the use of scientific and technological achievements in the very process of preparing, working out and formulating foreign-policy decisions (pp. 12-13).

The problem stemming from resources of scientific and technological progress which have been channeled into military potential for the subsequent employment of military might in foreign policy, forms, as it should, one of the main sections in the book. A primary feature of the scientific and technological revolution in the USA is the fact that it first showed up in those sectors of science, technology and industry which were engaged in developing, creating and producing weapons and other military equipment. The revolution in military technology led to the emergence of a weapons and military equipment system characterized by an abrupt leap in effectiveness which, in turn, led to a change in military doctrines and ideas and former notions about war. The authors distinguish four stages in the scientific and technological revolution of the USA's military enterprise: first, the creation of the atomic bomb, ushering in the era of nuclear arms; second, the creation of the hydrogen bomb with still greater destructive power; third, the appearance of inter-continental ballistic missiles capable of quickly and accurately delivering nuclear charges to distant continents; fourth, the development of space satellites providing the capability of creating global systems of reconnaissance, command and navigation.

These processes have been accompanied by an accelerated development of other types of weapons for mass destruction--chemical and bacteriological--and similarly, by substantial qualitative changes in so-called conventional arms systems. The scientific and technological revolution transformed all types of armed forces--land, air and naval. The authors consequently conclude: "The development of a revolution in military technology, placed in the service of aggressive interests, is one of the factors contributing to an increased likelihood of war and is capable of leading to the annihilation of mankind" (p. 57). The authors convincingly show how, for this reason, the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and virtually all forces struggling for detente and the preservation of peace consistently and persistently support the conclusion of international treaties and agreements which, on the basis of equality and without inflicting damage to the security of either side, would avert a further arms race based on achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. This is the purpose served by the treaty for the limitation of strategic offensive arms signed in Vienna in June 1979 by L. I. Brezhnev and J. Carter--which, however, through the fault of the American side has not been implemented.

The authors justifiably note, in connection with negotiations on arms limitation, that "the development of the revolution in military technology may be outstripping the pace of negotiations for arms limitations and reduction" (p. 57). The opponents of detente are guilty of this. Taking into account the historical course of such negotiations and their practical results, the authors probably have a right to be more categorical in this instance, and instead of "may be outstripping," could say "is outstripping." They do so state in chapter three: "One of the characteristics

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of the scientific and technological revolution in the military consists of the fact that its pace quite often outstrips the pace of negotiations for the purpose of limiting and reducing armaments," and "the scientific and technological achievements applied to the military often exert a destabilizing influence on the arms limitation and reduction process, hinder on-going negotiations and complicate the achievement of accords" (p. 109). This tendency, unfortunately, does exist and has recently been intensifying. The chapter devoted to this problem contains, as do all the others, a great deal of factual and statistical material supporting the authors' conclusions. It has been derived from a broad range of American sources from among which the most reliable and authoritative were selected.

Painstakingly tracing the evolution of the foreign economic strategy of the USA in the 1970's, the authors show that this constitutes a process of accommodation by American imperialism to new conditions created in the course of the scientific and technological revolution and an aggravation of the over-all crisis in capitalism. American imperialism seeks to make maximal use of its economic power and its huge scientific and technological potential to strengthen the USA's international position and achieve its economic and political goals. The foreign economic strategy of the USA reflects the expansionist tendencies of American capital and its striving towards widening its market, gaining broader access to world economic resources and using the advantages of international capitalistic division of labor for the sake of extracting maximum profits. This strategy has as its aim the enhancement of other capitalist nations' dependence on the USA and the preservation of the inequitable economic relationships with imperialists countries' former colonial possessions. American foreign economic strategy is closely connected with foreign policy. It represents its continuation, constituting an economic implement in American imperialism's arsenal of foreign-policy resources.

A great deal of attention is devoted in the book to the development of scientific and technological bonds between the USA and the USSR in terms of the scientific and technological revolution. As a result of the furious growth of the scientific and technological revolution in the second half of this century, an important new trend has emerged--inter-government collaboration in the field of science and technology. The objective, natural rightness of the growth of socialized production and the internationalization of science and technology dictate the need for extending such collaboration. Scientific and technological ties between governments are an indispensable supplement to stable economic relations responsive to present trends in division of labor on the world market. The authors show that, under current conditions, the development of scientific and technological collaboration between the Soviet Union and the USA, whose share of the worldwide volume of scientific research constitutes more than two-thirds, takes on special significance (p. 362). The association of their scientific and technological efforts would permit the accomplishment of tasks of interest not only to the people of these countries but also to all humankind.

For a long time the ruling establishment of the USA rejected a course of normal development of relations with the Soviet Union. After the Second World War, when the USA enjoyed a temporary monopoly in the unclear field, their ruling establishment counted on militarily "driving back" the Soviet Union from the positions occupied by it in Europe and the world, and on "internal transformation"--on the degeneration of the Soviet social order under the influence of economic and political pressure from outside. The development of a world alignment of forces, however, quickly indicated the illusory nature of these calculations. So, in the 1970's the USA became convinced that they should not build relations proceeding from American "technological leadership"--using

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it as a lever to exert pressure--and that these relations could only be built on the basis of principles of equality and mutual advantage and of non-interference in each side's domestic affairs. The 1970's demonstrated in every way the mutual advantage for the USSR and the USA of scientific and technological collaboration carried out on the basis of these principles.

However, in the USA a perception of new realities in the contemporary international situation is occurring in terms of acute domestic struggle and the collision of various trends and points of view--from malicious anti-communism to a realistic evaluation of the world situation. Recent years have witnessed the beginning of a return to power in the USA of those interests whose ideologists think that the USA, while placing its trust in military force, should at the same time rely more and more on "non-military power factors" in the struggle against the USSR and other socialist countries. The authors write that this course has found its expression in the limitation of scientific, technological and economic collaboration with the USSR as a means of pressure, accompanied by an expansion of such collaboration with Beijing, including the objective of stimulating the growth of its military and technological potential which is likewise viewed as a means of pressuring the Soviet Union. "In this, the objective, as far as it can be determined, consists not so much of inflicting damage on socialist nations by artificially restricting the growth of collaboration as of weakening and, as far as is possible, defeating the processes of detente," the book states (p. 48).

Work on the book was completed before the government of the USA made the radical change in its policy from detente to a new edition of the "cold war," and before the time that this change was fully recognized by world public opinion. The value of the research under consideration here lies in the fact that not only does it analyze American foreign policy and strategy over the course of an important decade in world policy and strategy but it also leads the reader to an understanding of American policy at its present stage. The June 1980 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stated: "Aggressive imperialist forces have, however, recently countered these positive processes with a policy dictated by a reluctance to deal with the realities of the contemporary world--the strengthening of socialist positions, the success of the national liberation movement and the growth of freedom-loving, democratic forces as a whole. Imperialism would like to slow down the objective process of the world's renewal. Leaders of the NATO military block, first and foremost the USA, have embarked on a course aimed at destroying the military balance established in the world in order to serve their ends and inflict damage on the Soviet Union and socialist countries and to undermine international detente and national security."\* A reader having become familiar with the work being reviewed will be better prepared to understand the changes occurring today in the global strategy of the USA as well as having obtained a clear, scientific impression of what this strategy and the foreign policy of the USA was in the 1970's.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN KENYA REVIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII in Russian No 9, Sep 80 signed to press 12 Sep 80 pp 146-148

[Review by N. F. Matveyeva of the book "Keniya: vybor puti. Osnovnye etapy i problemy osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya" [Kenya: Choice of Path. Major Stages and Problems in the Liberation Movement] by L. Vladimirov, Politizdatel'stvo, Moscow, 1979, 17,000 copies, 279 pages]

[Text] At its very beginning, the author of the work reviewed here correctly underscores the fact that in the history of the liberation movement in Kenya, "there are many peculiarities whose study and correlation have urgent scientific and ideological-political significance." An appraisal of the specific character of Kenya's historical development is important to an understanding of the connections between the principles and characteristics of the national-liberation movement and of the subsequent development of Afro-Asian countries involved in working out current problems of this process. Kenya is a country "whose people were among the forefront of progressive forces in Africa during the period of struggle for independence" (pp.4-5), and a country where advocates of radical economic and social transformations exerted appreciable influence on its domestic political development in the first years after achieving political sovereignty. In our time, the government of Kenya takes compromising positions within the scope of national-reformism, as this country's social development constitutes one of the most striking examples of evolution along a capitalist path. The apparent contradiction between Kenya's present stage of development and the entire course of its national-liberation movement can be explained only by profound study of all stages of the national-liberation struggle in Kenya, the dynamics of its growth and by inventory of a multitude of internal and external, objective and subjective factors.

In the work, perhaps for the first time, the course of the liberation struggle in Kenya from its birth up to and including the present period is traced in reference to Marxist positions. The book's merit is its strong documentary foundation, at the basis of which lies a unique wealth of factual material gathered by the author over the course of several years' stay in Kenya.

A study of the early stages of the anti-colonial struggle in Kenya, characterized by uncoordinated actions taken by the native population against the seizure by the English of land and against inhuman treatment, which become a formally-organized movement by the 1920's and 1930's, has enabled L. Vladimirov to deepen and widen the interpretation of fundamental questions involving the development of this country. It convincingly demonstrates that the "Mau-Mau" uprising (1952-1956) did not crop up spontaneously.

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Having this in mind, the process of its preparation--political, organizational and military--is analyzed in detail and the role of Kenya's first mass national organization, the Kenya African Union (KAU), in this preparation and in the uprising itself is characterized. The treatment of the subject is supplemented by an analysis of the lessons of this uprising (pp. 84-86) which have general theoretical significance.

Developmental stages in Kenya's anti-colonial movement of two opposing tendencies--radical and moderate--leading to the formation, on the eve of the declaration of independence, of the so-called right and left alignment in the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which became the nation's ruling party after its acquisition of political sovereignty, are examined in the book. The essence of the ideological divergences between these alignments (which caused the schism in KANU and the departure from it of the Kenya People's Union--the KPU) is rightly connected here with the conflict which had unfolded between them over the issue of the nation's future course of development. Of great importance here is an appraisal of the ideological platform and activity of the KPU which, in spite of the brevity of its existence (from 1966 to 1969), not only left a noticeable mark on Kenya's political life but also "was largely a prototype of avant-garde parties--parties of socialist orientation--which in the 1970's were established in developing states in Asia and Africa" (p. 198).

Uncovering the reasons which made possible the removal of the KPU from the political arena, the author points out, first and foremost, the subversive activity of neo-colonialist interests which, in their endeavor to keep Kenya in their sphere of influence, supported in every way possible rightist elements in the government and in KANU. He also points out the weakness of the organizational structure of the KPU, symbolized by the vagueness of its ideological and political slogans. The combination of these factors largely conditioned the victory of the ideology of national-reformism which actively supports representatives of the rising national bourgeoisie in Kenya, a victory which has cleared the way for the growth of capitalist attitudes in this country under the slogan of "African Socialism" and has facilitated the activity of foreign monopolies.

At the outset of the analysis of the domestic political development of independent Kenya and the methods employed by the KPU, L. Vladimirov states a series of propositions worthy of the most steadfast attention, which touch on "fundamental issues of present-day political life in African states" (p. 199), and supports them with facts characterizing the political development of a number of other African countries--Ethiopia, Tanzania and Mozambique (pp. 201-209).

Put in first place here are questions concerning prerequisites for the creation of "an avant-garde party oriented towards socialism and built on advanced organizational principles corresponding to this ideology" (p. 200). As the author indicates, the multi-party system in African states is objectively justified when supporters of national-reformism are at the head of the ruling party, meanwhile leaving only a party of socialist orientation to fully defend the interests of the working public. But where the ruling party "shares an advanced ideology oriented towards socialism" and simultaneously carries out "profound economic and social changes in the interests of workers, national concerns do not require the formation of other parties" (p. 201). Even if revolutionary transformations begin without the presence of an avant-garde party, its creation is subsequently necessary for their successful consolidation (ibid.).

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Basic trends in Kenya's foreign policy are brought out in the study, and its inseparable connection with the growing alignment of political forces in the country is emphasized. The acquisition of independence, the end of Kenya's foreign political isolation, the support of left-wing forces for the development of mutually-advantageous collaboration with all-even in socialist states--created favorable prerequisites for setting this country on a progressive foreign-policy course. However, a major obstacle to this was the gradual consolidation in the government of Kenya of the positions of the national-reformists, who sought to direct all of Kenya's foreign ties toward the West.

Examining the broad scope of various aspects of the national-liberation movement in Kenya, L. Vladimirov comes to the conclusion that the history of this movement "confirms the relevance and applicability of Marxism-Leninism and of the extremely important theoretical generalizations and conclusions contained in documents of the CPSU and the international communist and workers' movement" (p. 241). The clear-cut periodization of the Kenyan people's liberation movement presented in the work (ibid.) emphasizes the huge importance for it of major events of international significance determining the course of the world revolutionary process.

The author's chosen method of analyzing concrete material primarily proposes to portray by its example general laws governing the national-liberation movement in developing countries. Apparently because of this, certain aspects characterizing the conditions of forming and developing the national liberation struggle in Kenya are insufficiently touched on in the book, or are mentioned in passing.

The author, it is true, made a qualifying remark in his preface to the effect that his work does not include exhaustive answers to all "extremely complicated and pressing problems" (p. 5) involved in the Kenyan liberation movement. At times, there is a lack in his book of sufficient "Kenyan specifics," which disturbs the necessary "balance" of domestic and foreign, objective and subjective factors for a true understanding of the general and the particular.

Summing up the social and economic policy of the government of Kenya, L. Vladimirov basically concentrates attention on its negative effects. It would probably have been better to also mention certain positive facets of economic development in Kenya under independent conditions (for example, the growing effort of the state to strengthen its control in economics, and its attempts to utilize foreign investments in the interests of national development).

The future will show how consistently the Kenyan Government intends to uphold national interests in attracting foreign capital. Indeed, "the struggle for national development" is a slogan of the fundamental party and government document of the Kenyan leadership, "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya," which at one time received the support of the Kenyan people. If, at the first stage of the country's independent development, its population as a whole uncritically accepted the actions of its leadership, the government currently, as an aggravation of social contradictions is accelerating the political awakening of the masses, is more and more running up against the growing dissatisfaction of the people who are deploring the dominance of foreign capital in the country's economics and protesting the aggrandizement of a few, the exploitation, unemployment and poverty of millions. This is especially urgent right now as the Kenyan leadership, heading for an ever greater subordination of the country's interests to international imperialism, has proceeded to allow the USA the right of using the country's airbases and ports for military purposes, which utterly contradicts the vital interests of its people.

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The usefulness performed by the scientific research done by L. Vladimirov is not in doubt. His book, addressed to a broad spectrum of specialists on the problems of developing countries, bears witness to the successes of Soviet African scholars.

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SOVIET AZERBAIJANI ON RECENT VISIT TO TURKEY

Baku AZARBAYJAN in Azeri No 6, 1980 pp 99-160

[Editorial Summary by Elchin: "Near and Distant Turkey"]

[Text] The Turkish Writers Union [Turkiye Yazarlar Sindikasi] invited a Soviet writers' delegation to Turkey "in order to further strengthen mutual relations between the USSR Writers Union and the Turkish Writers Union, to exchange work experience reciprocally, and to exchange ideas on literary, political and social problems with Turkish writers and cultural officials." The Soviet delegation consisted of the noted Azerbaijani poet Elchin, Muza Pavlova, the translator of the works of Nazim Hikmet into Russian and Igor Kovalenko, an historical novelist who writes about life in Constantinople.

A number of general attitudes are expressed at the outset: on terrorism in Turkey "...to understand the tragedy wrought by terrorism in Turkey today one must be in the country in order to feel it, one has to see everything with one's own eyes"; on SALT-2, Aziz Nesin, chairman of the Turkish Writers Union, is quoted on the importance of its ratification; on the role of Turkey and Iran in CENTO (before and after its dissolution), he notes that "an Azerbaijani student (from Iranian Azerbaijan) said that at first Turkey and Iran shared the same border and were military allies; now, however, they share the same border and are friends."

Elchin's objective in writing this memoir is "to share with the reader my thoughts and observations on the socio-political problems I saw at the time of my trip and the way of life and literary process in contemporary Turkey." To this end, the career of the prominent novelist Yashar Kemal is reviewed, which prompts a discussion of Turkish literary history from the Tanzimat period (1839) to the present. The names of some Turkish socialist writers who became prominent in the 1930's are given, but it is noted that "...in the period after Ataturk, especially in the 1950's at the time of the Menderes-Bayar dictatorship, were the hardest and most difficult years for Turkish literary activity, a number of great Turkish writers were thrown into prison, a number stayed in involuntary exile, and a writer like Sebaheddin Ali was 'accidentally' shot." Nazim Hikmet's career-in-exile (in the USSR) is reviewed; it is observed that Hikmet's books are now widely published and available in Turkey. "Azerbaijan was a second fatherland for him." Hikmet is quoted as saying: "I am bound to Turkey by my mother tongue. For me, it is impossible to conceive of anything close to the heart without it." On the effect of exile on the Turkish writer Elchin says that exile "was turned into a stimulus playing a catalytic role" which "gives even more energy to the

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writer. Today, however, Turkish writers and journalists have more power to say and print the truth," although "certainly there are always difficulties." The ability of the Turkish journalist to resist talking during an interrogation is almost legendary. He relates a short story by Aziz Nesin "The Congress of Surgeons" to illustrate the point: "At the World Congress of Surgeons...prominent American, English, French, German and Japanese surgeons were represented...(but) one simple Turkish surgeon won preeminence among them; he had removed someone's tonsils; certainly this is a simple everyday affair; it is logical, however, that this 'someone' was a Turkish journalist!; what happened?; the Turkish journalist would not open his mouth and the surgeon had to take them out through his anal passage!"

On Turkish literature in general "it is notable that...the fractionalism, conflict of political ideas and lack of clarity of subject matter among the left wing is seen in a raw form." "Contemporary Turkish literature, all in all, is a psychological literature aware of the people and knowing their lives, desires and nature; it is not a literature that only describes, it also analyzes." As for the impact of literature on the people, "I was witness to the respect, feeling, I might even say solicitude toward the book in Turkey."

The work done in translating world literature into Turkish is praised, although the low wages paid to translators is deplored: "the contemporary Turkish reader has the possibility to acquaint himself with...world literature in his native language." Writers also earn very poorly: "...aside from Yashar Kemal and Aziz Nesin there are no 'freelance' writers living on royalties, at least none among the writers whom I met." They all have other jobs.

An extensive review of the process of the "rapprochement of literature to the people" in Turkey is given, beginning from the Tanzimat period. One of the major steps was "the replacement of the Arabic script by the Latin script." (Elchin points out that the Azerbaijani polymath Akhundov, together with the writer Namik Kemal, had proposed Latinization in 1863 to "the Istanbul Academy" but "his alphabet project was never carried out.")

Some Turkish writers, without a feel for the people or the importance of the national concept, in the name of a "common humanity," have veered toward "cosmopolitanism" or "nihilism" because they deny "the national esthetic affiliation in its wealth of creativeness." "...It is interesting and significant that sometimes the literary process reveals truth through its own natural thrust, and then the literary legacy takes on an objective value." On the question of the continuity of literary tradition, he observes that when literature "is taken out of the socio-political, moral-esthetic context of its own period..." it is a "mistake." As an example of this type of critical error, the work by L. Alkaeva and A. Babaev "Turetskaya Literatura" (Moscow 1967) is cited because it is influenced by "vulgar sociology."

On the regressive process in Turkish society after the death of Ataturk until the fall of the "Menderes-Bayar dictatorship" it is noted that "in 1932 only nine religious schools remained in Turkey," but "in 1952...(there were) 195 religious schools in which 11,836 students were studying..."

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Several paragraphs are devoted to the "pamobiznes" [pornobusiness] which flourishes along Istiklal Caddesi. A walk through the Abanos district prompts reflections on the housing problems of Istanbul: "The housing problem in Istanbul...is a very major problem yet no one wants to move into the buildings on Abanos Street although the owners are renting apartments at the cheapest prices; yet not one worker, family or student wants to move in and live here... Institutions are afraid to move into these buildings because the society would boycott and bankrupt them."

On the lack of agreement between "progressive left-wing" intellectuals, "it is a pity that journalists representing the progressive forces cannot find a common language on the road to struggle for the common work--progress and democracy, national freedom and national independence," whereas "the goal of réaction has been clear, definite and precise...." "I regret, as a Soviet writer who deeply loves the Turkish people, Turkish history and Turkish civilization that... factionalism, clique-ism and revisionism have significantly weakened progressive Turkish society."

A number of observations are made on the lives of Azerbaijanis born in Turkey. Hamid Turan "who is Azerbaijani...and the publisher of KHAZAR ['Caspian'] magazine...was born in Kars, grew up in Erzurum and now lives in Istanbul," prompts a discussion of how Azerbaijanis who were born in Turkey fare. "A number of these Azerbaijanis...are from Kars but work in Istanbul." One of them, a worker in the Beykoz shoe factory named Suleyman Azer, says that "my children were born here, grew up here, were neither in the fatherland nor in Kars in their entire lives, but they are Azerbaijani to their very blood and marrow of their bones." Elchin notes that "this is characteristic of all the Azerbaijanis from Kars and Erzurum, at any rate this is what I have seen and felt." Other Azerbaijanis from Kars to whom this applies are mentioned: "Oktay Kerimli, a teacher in the middle school, Faik Selam, a student at Erzurum University, Firidun, a taxi driver, Abdulla Alovlu, a surgeon at Istanbul Municipal Hospital, Faik Agirli, a worker in the Bakirkoy margarine factory, and Professor Sakine Yalciner." The absence of connections between the "local" Azerbaijanis and the "emigre Azerbaijanis with their political clubs" is mentioned.

Azerbaijani publishing activities were observed closely. Erol Ozaydin publishes an 8-page monthly newsletter called HAMSHEHRI [from the same city] which is "a cultural, social and current information newspaper." Its purpose is "to acquaint the Azerbaijanis from Kars and Erzurum with our literature and culture, to raise social problems connected with their life and life style, to introduce people from Kars living in Istanbul to each other, and to create cooperation and unity among them at weddings, funerals and other social activities." Ozaydin "wants us to send him material on Azerbaijani literature and fine arts as well as materials of an historical and ethnographic character." When talking with him "I thought about a very simple, yet not so simple truth: how sacred and powerful is the feeling for the fatherland and for the people."

Another magazine published for the Azerbaijanis in Turkey is KHAZAR ("Owner, Hamid Turan; Content Editor, Kamal Gungoren; Manager, Haver Aslan; Technical Secretary, Cumhuriyet Turan"). It began publishing in Istanbul in April 1979. The first three issues (April, May, June) are described in detail. Included are articles and

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poetry by prominent Soviet Azerbaijanis, i.e., Suleyman Rustam and Bakhtiyar Vahabzada; and Southern Azerbaijanis such as Shehriyar and Sahand, which are reprinted for the Azerbaijani reader in Turkey. Elchin adds "when I say that the Azerbaijanis from Kars and Erzurum are interested in Iranian Azerbaijan and especially Soviet Azerbaijan it is not to say that they want to live our life; they read our literature when possible, appreciate our successes in every realm, and ask, ask, ask questions."

"At the time of my journey in every meeting, every seminar, every exchange of ideas with regard to Turko-Soviet, in essence Turko-Soviet Azerbaijani literary-cultural and scientific relations, no matter what the discussion or the conflict of ideas, one thing was clear to everyone--these relations have to be expanded further..." "In general I would note that prominent Azerbaijani Soviet literary historians and linguists have published scientific articles in Turkey, among them the Academicians Hamid Arasly, Mammadagha Shiraliyev and Professor Abbas Zamanov. I would like to say here that Hamid Arasly is an honorary member of the Turk Dil Kurumu [Turkish Language Society], and...Shiraliyev and Zamanov have been elected corresponding members." Also, "in recent years some books of poetry by Nabi Khazri and Bakhtiyar Vahabzada have been published." It is regretted that there are not more literary contacts between the two countries than now exist.

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INTERNATIONAL

FATE OF ASSYRIANS IN IRAN, IRAQ, TURKEY, USSR

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII in Russian No 9, Sep 80 signed to press 12 Sep 80  
pp 184-188

[Article by M. Yu. Matveyev: "At the Historical Map of the World's Peoples:  
The Assyrians"]

[Text] The Assyrians, who are descended from the founders of one of the most ancient states, are at the present time considered to be a minor people. By approximate count during the 1960's their number amounted to 1.5 million persons.<sup>1</sup> Their densest area of habitation is the territory of Northern Iraq, where they number as many as 350,000 persons.<sup>2</sup> In the USSR the 1979 Census set their number at 25,000 persons.<sup>3</sup> The modern Assyrian language, which is spoken by most Assyrians, was formed on the basis of two substrata--the Old Aramaean and the Assyro-Babylonian (Akkadian) languages. It belongs to the Semitic language group and has many dialects.

The early history of the Assyrian people dates back to the Fourth--Third Millennia B.C., when one of the world's oldest civilizations--the Assyrian--was created in Northern Mesopotamia, in the area between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers; it subsequently exerted a considerable influence on the life and culture of the peoples of the Near East. During the period of its highest flourishing Assyria stretched from the western borders of present-day Iran to the Mediterranean Sea, from the Ararat Mountains in the North to Egypt in the South. Dating back to the reign of Ashurbanipal (Seventh Century B.C.) is one of the most valuable landmarks of world culture--a library of cuneiform writings.<sup>4</sup> During that period various sciences were flourishing in Assyria: mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. Handicrafts reached a high stage of development: metalworking, construction, and the manufacture of military equipment. Assyrian architects left remarkable monuments of architecture and sculpture. Toward the end of the Seventh Century B.C., however, the might of Assyria was shaken. Beginning in 626 B.C. under the blows of a Babylonian-Median military coalition the cities and provinces of the former Assyria fell one after another: Ashur, Nineveh, and others. In 605 B.C. Assyria ceased to exist as a great power. "But Nineveh and Assyria did not disappear from the face of the earth.... Assyria, retaining its name in the form 'Aturia,' was a Persian province, and the city of Nineveh rose again under the Roman emperors in the form of a military colony."<sup>5</sup>

The destruction of this power did not lead to the disappearance of its people, which under the most difficult conditions was able to preserve its own language, customs, and partly its culture. Many years after the fall of Nineveh the remnants

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of its population returned to the ruins of the former capital and continued to live there, adhering to their ancient traditions.<sup>6</sup> No matter in what state formations the territory of the former Assyria was included--whether the Iranian regime, the Arab Caliphate, the Mongol Empire, the Ottoman Empire, or others--the Assyrians retained their own unique originality, resisting encroachments on their culture. Beginning in the Fifth Century A.D., their struggle against their oppressors assumed the religious form of Nestorianism. The essence of this doctrine consisted in its recognition of the human principle in Christ while the Virgin Mary was viewed not as the Mother of God but as the Mother of Christ, that is, the mother of a man who became God and not of God who became a man. Because of religious persecutions in Byzantium and especially in Iran, the followers of this religious trend fled into Central Asia, Transcaucasia, India, and China.<sup>7</sup>

The influence of the Assyrian-Nestorian culture on the peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia is testified to, in particular, by the Assyrian inscriptions on monuments encountered in Semirech'ye, in the regions of Pishpek (Frunze) and Tokmak,<sup>8</sup> as well as in the following places in Georgia: Shio Ngvime, Zedazeni, Garedzha, and others.<sup>9</sup> The Assyrian manuscripts which have come down to us and which are located in the libraries of Moscow, Leningrad, and Yerevan, as well as those of foreign cities,<sup>10</sup> contain important information on the history of the peoples of Rus', Central Asia, and Transcaucasia. Assyrian scholars played a definite role in the development of scientific thought in the countries of the Arab East and medieval Europe.<sup>11</sup> They translated the works of Aristotle, Galen, and Hippocrates from Greek into Arabic, and they served as the conduits of many progressive ideas of their own times.<sup>12</sup>

In the 13th--14th centuries during the period of the Mongol domination the Assyrian-Nestorian church lost its influence.<sup>13</sup> At this time the Khulagids began open persecutions of the Nestorians.<sup>14</sup> Three groups of the latter saved themselves from persecutions. One fled into India (to the Malabar coast), another to Cyprus, and a third, the most numerous group, concealed themselves together with their patriarch in places in Kurdistan which were difficult to reach. A last refuge were the mountains in Khakyri, in the southeastern part of Turkey. Here the Assyrians, led by the spiritual and secular leader, Mar Shimun, whose title was subsequently transferred from uncle to nephew, with enormous stubbornness waged a struggle against the Sultan's authorities from the 17th to the 19th centuries.<sup>15</sup>

By 1773 the Roman Catholic church had subordinated to its influence a part of the Assyrians who were living in the valleys of Northern Iraq. They came to be called Assyro-Chaldeans, and their leader acquired the title Patriarch of Babylon.<sup>16</sup> But most of the Assyrians of Turkey and Iran remained faithful to Nestorianism, and they passed on their former traditions from generation to generation. The Ottoman Empire, where the fundamental portion of the Assyrians lived, was a feudal country in which along with Christians--Slavs, Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians--Muslim peoples--Arabs, Kurds, Albanians, and others--also languished under the Sultan's yoke. The Sultan's government conducted a policy of inciting religious and national enmity between them, and this gave rise to bloody clashes on more than one occasion. The position of the Assyrians in Iran was no better. As a result of this, the Assyrians viewed Russia with its Christian Transcaucasia as a country which could bring them liberation.<sup>17</sup>

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Intentions to adopt Orthodoxy and to resettle in Georgia and Russia were stated by the Assyrians of Iran and Turkey during the 18th and 19th centuries on more than one occasion.<sup>18</sup> The earliest such document which has come down to us is a letter by the Assyrian Catholicos Irakliy II dated 1770. Therein Mar Shimun requested the protection of the Georgian tsar.<sup>19</sup> The leanings of the Assyrians toward Russia found their expression at the time of the numerous Russo-Turkish and Russo-Iranian wars, when the Assyrians rendered as much military aid as possible to the Russian troops. In 1828, because they had granted aid to the Russian Army, some Assyrian families were granted permission to move from Iran to Armenia, to the villages of Koylasar, Upper Dvin, Arzni, and Little Shagriar. Here they engaged in agriculture, viticulture, and gardening.<sup>20</sup>

By the end of the 19th century there was a total of 5,353 Assyrians living in the Russian Empire.<sup>21</sup> The basic mass of them continued to remain in the Ottoman Empire and in Iran. The total number of Assyrian population in Turkey at that time reached 863,000 persons.<sup>22</sup> They were densely settled in the sanjak of Khakyari, the cities of Diyarbakir, Mardin, Urfa, and the villages of Julamerk, Gyavar, Mergesver, Tergever, Tiare, and others. Some 74,000 were living in Iran in the northwestern part of the country, in the region of Urmia.<sup>23</sup>

As a result of the chauvinistic policy of the Young Turk leaders and the intrigues of the British imperialists, the Assyrians were drawn into World War I and entered on the side of the Entente.<sup>24</sup> During those years the Assyrian people was on the edge of disappearing. In battles and as the result of pogroms, out of 940,000 Assyrians in Turkey and Iraq about 500,000 persons perished.<sup>25</sup> In order to avoid ultimate annihilation, during the winter of 1914/15 a portion of the Assyrians from Turkey fled into Russia, while another group fled into Iran. Tens of thousands of refugees perished along the way from cold and hunger; only 20--25,000 crossed the Russian border.<sup>26</sup>

After World War I the basic mass of the remaining Assyrians were divided among Turkey, Iran, and Iraq. During the period from 1910 to 1940 many Assyrians became scattered throughout the East, Europe, North and South America. In 1920 the British colonialists under the pretext of rendering aid to the Assyrian refugees forcibly resettled them from Iran into Iraq. By taking advantage of their impoverished status, the British authorities recruited them into special battalions to guard military facilities and to fight against the national liberation movement of the Arabs and Kurds.<sup>27</sup> Subsequently the British imperialists used the Assyrian question as one of the pretexts for detaching the petroleum-bearing Mosul Vilayat from Turkey and annexing it to Iraq, over which Great Britain had a mandate. In 1926, when this vilayat became a part of Iraq, the imperialists and their obedient clique in the Iraqi royal government, fearing that the armed and militant-minded Assyrians would achieve independence, began to disperse them in separate groups among the native Muslims.<sup>28</sup> The striving of the Assyrian people to acquire elementary civil rights was regarded as an uprising, and the "Assyrian Menace" began to be liquidated by means of the physical annihilation of people. On 7 August 1933 a rough justice was meted out to the Assyrian population in the regions of Dokhuk and Zakho: thousands of peaceful inhabitants were shot, and 60 Assyrian villages were destroyed and plundered.<sup>29</sup>

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Throughout the 1930s the Assyrian question was brought up for discussion at the League of Nations on more than one occasion. But all attempts to resolve it ended in failure because of the opposition of the British imperialists and their faithful Iraqi clique of Nuri Said. The situation of the Assyrians in Iraq remained extremely difficult right up to the Revolution of 1958. Only a few of them who had an education and an area of specialization (physicians, engineers, and military officers) were more or less well-off.<sup>30</sup> But most of the Assyrians were dragging out a meager existence. They were primarily rural inhabitants. They engaged in agriculture in the provinces of Mosul, Suleimaniya, Erbil, and Kirkuk; they raised grain, tobacco, as well as olive, pistachio, walnut, peach, and other trees.<sup>31</sup>

The position of Iran's Assyrians at this time was hardly any better. As much as 80% of them were living in rural localities, in the regions of Urmia and Salmas; returning here in the early 1920s were many refugees who had been forcibly settled in Iraq by the British authorities. They began to restore their ruined farms,<sup>32</sup> and they engaged in their traditional occupations of gardening and livestock raising. As was also the case in monarchist Iraq, right up to the 1950's the Assyrians of Iran were deprived of political rights and the opportunity for full development. They were forbidden to have national schools, to study their native language, and to publish their own literature.

As the result of economic and cultural backwardness, national oppression, and a lack of political rights, the overwhelming majority of Assyrians who are now living in the countries of the foreign East are at an extremely low level of socioeconomic and cultural development.<sup>33</sup> Only some individual merchants, craftsmen, and other members of the non-numerous well-to-do classes have acquired the opportunity to participate in the active social and economic activity. Thus, at the 20th Session of the Iranian Majlis in 1960 a person elected by the Assyrians appeared for the first time among the delegates.<sup>34</sup> It is only in very recent times that the children of Assyrians have been granted the opportunity to be enrolled in the state schools of Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. A few representatives of Assyrian youth have studied and are studying in higher educational institutions and colleges or have received an education abroad. In Iran, Iraq, and the United States periodical publications of the Assyrians have begun coming out in their native language and in English: the journals GILGAMES, BET-NAHRAN, THE ASSYRIAN STAR, the newspaper ATOUR, and others. However, this has had little effect on any change for the better for most working-class Assyrians living in foreign countries.<sup>35</sup>

Only in the USSR have Assyrians found a true homeland, along with the possibility of working peacefully and being confident in their future. As long ago as the first few years of the Soviet regime in places densely inhabited by Assyrians (the Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani SSR's and the Krasnodar Territory) the government opened the elementary and secondary schools for their children; here instruction was conducted in Russian and in their native language.<sup>36</sup> Staffs for these schools were trained at the Armavir Pedagogical Technicum and the Leningrad Institute of History, Philosophy, and Literature.<sup>37</sup> In the early 1930's Assyrian cultural-educational societies and their sections were opened in Moscow, Leningrad, Yerevan, Tbilisi, and other cities.<sup>38</sup> These organizations conducted a great deal of political educational and general educational work. The Moscow Section published literature in the national language: more than 300 of its titles were published

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from 1919 through 1939 alone. The works of V. I. Lenin, as well as works by many Russian and Soviet writers have been translated into the Assyrian language. The newspaper KEKHVA D MADYNKA (Star of the East) has played an important role in the development of Assyrian Soviet culture.

During the years when agriculture was being collectivized, in the Assyrian villages of Armenia (Arzni, Upper Dvin, Dimitrovo, Little Shagriar), Georgia (Mukhrani, Vasil'yevka), Azerbaijan (Khanlar, Shamkhor), and in the village of Urmiya in the Krasnodar Territory, Assyrian kolkhozes were created and equipped with up-to-date technology; highly skilled specialists worked here.<sup>39</sup> These farms, which specialize in cultivating fruits and vegetables, have now become associations bringing in high incomes. The kolkhoz members live well and are prosperous. A number of inhabitants of the Assyrian villages of Transcaucasia and the Krasnodar Territory have new stone houses, many have automobiles, and their houses have modern appliances: television sets, radios, and telephones. The Assyrian National Song and Dance Ensembles from Arzni and Dvin enjoy great popularity not only in their own republic but beyond its borders. Recognition of their meritorious services in the cause of developing the national culture is testified to by the fact that they have acquired the title "people's."<sup>40</sup>

Together with the other peoples of our multi-national country, the Assyrians have actively participated in building the new society. Among them are the following: Hero of Socialist Labor and Deputy to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, Chairman of the Kolkhoz in the Village of Shagriar, Yu. A. Ovchiyan, shockworker of communist labor, metallurgist from Rustavi, and a delegate to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, Agasarov, Honored Schoolteacher of the Armenian SSR, T. A. Muradova from the village of Dimitrovo, Doctor of Physical-Mathematical Sciences Ye. I. Givargizov, Doctor of Medical Sciences M. Yu. Melikova, Laureate of the USSR State Prize and inventor of the "Nairi" Computer, V. S. Ishin, Honored Cultural Figure of the Ukrainian SSR, M. I. Khardayev, and others.<sup>41</sup> There are also well-known athletes among the Assyrians: the world's champion in gymnastics, V. G. Nazarov, Soviet Union champion in boxing, B. N. Nadyrov, national champion in wrestling and prize-winner at the World's Championship, winner at the Seventh Summer Spartakiade of the Peoples of the USSR, V. Avdyshev.<sup>42</sup>

During the years of the Great Patriotic War for their courage and heroism the Assyrians L. Sh. Davydov and S. A. Sarkhoshev were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union.<sup>43</sup> During the war three Assyrians became generals: cavaliers of Soviet and foreign orders and medals, Andrey Nikolayevich and Aleksandr Nikolayevich Tamrazov and Georgiy Il'ich Sarkisov.<sup>44</sup> During the post-war years a large group of Soviet Assyrian intelligentsia has taken shape--engineers, schoolteachers, physicians, and scientists. The creation of schools with instruction being given in the Assyrian language, the publication of literature, the activities of cultural-educational societies, and the appearance of popular-stage and theatrical ensembles have turned the Assyrian community in the USSR into a focus for the national culture which is important for Assyrians not only in the Soviet Union but also abroad.

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CRITICISM OF SOVIET DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL ASIA EXPOSED

Kiev KRIZIS ANTIMARKSISTSKIKH KONTSEPTSII SOTSIALIZMA NA SOVREMENNOM ETAPE SOREVNOVANIYA DVUKH SISTEM. SEKTSIYA III. PROBLEMY KRITIKI ANTIMARKSISTSKIKH TEORIY SOTSIALIZMA V KURSE POLITEKONOMII in Russian 1979 signed to press 3 Dec 79 pp 105-111

[Report by P. M. Leonenko, candidate of economic sciences, Kiev: "Criticism of Bourgeois Interpretations of the Socioeconomic Development of the Republics of the Soviet East" from the book "Krizis Antimarksistskikh Kontseptsii Sotsializma na Sovremennom Etape Sorevnovaniya Dvukh Sistem. Sektsiya III. Problemy Kritiki Antimarksistskikh Teoriy Sotsializma v Kurse Politekonomii" (The Crisis of the Anti-Marxist Conceptions of Socialism in the Current Phase of Competition between the Two Systems. Section III. Problems of Criticism of Anti-Marxist Theory in Courses in Political Economy), containing summaries of reports and addresses at an all-Union scientific council on 18-20 December 1979; published under the auspices of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences Ukrainian SSR, 500 copies]

[Text] The socialist transformation in the republics of the Soviet East, as a key element of Lenin's plan for building socialism, brought about formation of the material-technical base in a historically short period of time. "That is why the Soviet East, which has been the site of the heroic virgin lands and space achievements of the entire Soviet people, is properly called a land where Lenin's ideas have been realized," noted D. A. Kunayev.

The Soviet experience is an object of close study abroad. This interest is not only not diminishing, it is growing stronger, chiefly through peaceful development of vigorous use of our experience by the developing countries.

Time, the unbiased judge of life, has proven the correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the advantages of the socialist system. Therefore, in the current phase the bourgeois "critics" do not attack the results of the socioeconomic development of the republics of the Soviet East in themselves, but rather the theory, methods, and ways of achieving them. However, modernization of the forms and methods of bourgeois criticism of socioeconomic transformations in the Soviet Central Asian republics cannot conceal its antisocialist essence and orientation.

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For this reason one of the pressing challenges of Marxist-Leninist political economy is to expose the contemporary forms and methods of bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of the socioeconomic transformation in the national regions of the Soviet East.

Socialist nationalization, of course, is the basis on which a socialist economy originates and grows strong. V. I. Lenin emphasized many times that "there is only one way to put an end to the exploitation of labor by capital, and that is to wipe out private ownership of the means of labor, put all factories, plants, mines, and other large establishments in the hands of the whole society, and carry on socialist production."<sup>2</sup> This is the crucial condition for the transition by the peoples of backward countries to socialism, bypassing the capitalist system. "There can be no dispute," V. I. Lenin said in 1920, "that the proletariat of the leading countries can and must help the other masses of working people and that the development of the backward countries can come from the present stage when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet republics offers its hand to these masses and is able to give them support."<sup>3</sup>

The experience of development of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan graphically demonstrate both the possibility and the necessity of this transition. But the anti-Soviets, trying to discredit the Soviet experience in the eyes of the peoples of the developing countries, argue that nationalization in Central Asia supposedly "did not meet the needs of the local population,"<sup>4</sup> that the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan cannot enjoy the fruits of their own economic development. Thus, J. Metley, an assistant professor at the University of Michigan, writes in his book "Central Asia. A Century of Russian Rule": "The development of this region (that is, Central Asia) in many ways resembles the development of India during British rule. A modern system of transportation was created and industrialization was begun. But the peoples of Central Asia, unlike the peoples of sovereign India, still cannot reap the final fruits of economic development stimulated by the Russian colonial administration. In India, no matter how complex the problems may be, there is hope for future growth based on the independent political and economic system and free trade with the entire world. Central Asian trade is limited to the communist bloc and its future economic development, evidently, will be linked exclusively with Russia."<sup>5</sup>

This statement is wrong, because during the prerevolutionary period this region was unable to rise out of poverty and desolation. Only in Soviet times did it undergo strong economic and cultural development. It is also wrong because many dozens of foreign countries, some of them capitalist countries, are readily buying the output of the Central Asian republics today. For example, Kazakhstan now delivers industrial output of more than 300 types to more than 80 countries around the world.<sup>6</sup> The industrialization of the national regions was done in the same way as industrialization of the entire country, on the basis of a combination of Union-wide and local interests, rational siting of production, and knowledge and consideration of the requirements of the subjective economic laws of socialism. Concerning India it can be said that it began quite moderate development after receiving independence, and not without material, technical, and scientific aid from the USSR.

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The bourgeois apologists horribly distort the socialist essence of the agrarian transformation carried out by Soviet power in all places after Great October. Thus, R. Stuart "proved" that the collective farms are necessary only to exercise political control and take surplus from the kolkhoz numbers, and collectivization serves as a "means of regulating the level of consumption in the countryside."<sup>7</sup> The writings of bourgeois authors such as M. Levin and V. Connolly depict this process as compulsory and imposed by force.<sup>8</sup> But the agrarian transformations eliminated the social basis of exploitation and had a beneficial impact on the material situation of the peasants. They helped the Kazakh people rid themselves for all time of the patriarchal system. Suffice it to say that before the start of World War I there were 4,563 Russian and Ukrainian households in the seven counties of Kustanay District; 241 had about one desyatina (= 1.09254 hectares), 1,261 households had 2-4 desyatinas, 1,588 had 5-10 desyatinas, and 950 households had more than 10 desyatinas apiece.<sup>9</sup> Thus, collectivization eliminated feudal patriarchal relations and made possible the transition of Central Asian peasants to socialism, bypassing capitalism.

The transition of the peasantry to a settled way of life is an important socioeconomic transformation that occurred in Kazakhstan during the years of Soviet power. In the interpretation of the bourgeois ideologists present-day summer-pasture animal husbandry is depicted as a form of the traditional nomadic economy. The enemies of socialism pursue far-reaching goals. They try to diminish the historical importance of settlement in one place and represent the current livestock system as a primitive, extensive system. Thus, American sociologist E. Bacon states that despite the campaign against nomadism, it continues to exist in a different form. He says that only the name is changed, that the Russians now call nomadism "summer-pasture animal husbandry." This kind of statement is wrong mainly on the theoretical level, because summer-pasture animal husbandry and the nomadic system cannot be equated as E. Bacon does. The nomadic system is based on available feed all year long and the livestock are constantly moving from one pasture to another. The radius of these wanderings among the Kazakhs reached 1,000 kilometers. Summer-pasture animal husbandry using available feed is carried on only in season and the radius of grazing is small. During the difficult winter season the livestock are kept in stalls. The contemporary summer-pasture system is also characterized by new forms of labor organization—mechanized herding brigades; a high level of education, the broad background of knowledge of contemporary herdsmen; the fact that they have permanent homes in the towns with private plots; the great importance that the state places on the honorable labor of the herdsmen.

The theory and practice of building socialism, both in the USSR as a whole and in its Union republics, testifies to the scientific bankruptcy of the bourgeois allegations considered above. The successes of Kazakhstan and the other formerly backward regions of the USSR show the bias of the current bourgeois myths which say that Marxist-Leninist doctrine is unacceptable to peoples living under conditions of precapitalist systems. The socioeconomic development of the regions of the Soviet East is vivid testimony to the correctness of Lenin's teaching on the possibility of a transition by backward countries to socialism, bypassing the capitalist system. It is graphic proof of the vitality and great strength of the

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Leninist nationality policy. The republics of the Soviet East were the testing ground where the strength of the classical Leninist statement that "with the help of the proletariat of the leading countries backward countries can shift to a Soviet order and, after certain stages of development, advance toward communism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development,"<sup>10</sup> was checked and confirmed in full.

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REGIONAL

ESTONIAN FARM INVESTMENT, SUBSIDY POLICIES, AGRO-INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS VIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Russian No 11, Nov 80 pp 86-93

[Article by E. Khyayal, candidate of economic sciences and member of USSR Finance Ministry Collegium, Tallinn: "Problems of Improving Control Over Agriculture"]

[Text] The task of complex agricultural development based upon mechanization, the use of chemical processes, extensive land reclamation, raising the skills of workers and active utilization of scientific achievements was advanced as early as the March (1965) Plenum of the CC CPSU. These trends were further developed and defined more specifically in the decisions handed down during the July (1987 Plenum of the CC CPSU. Once again, emphasis was placed upon the fact that the rate of growth for the country's economic potential, the standard of living for the population, the observance of the principal national economic proportions and also the status of the branch and state material and financial resources are all dependent to a considerable degree upon the level of agricultural development and the efficiency of agricultural production. Roughly 70 percent of the material wealth consumed by the population is in one way or another associated with agricultural production.

As more economic development takes place, the interrelationships between agriculture on the one hand and industry and other branches on the other will expand and become more intense. Recently, serious attention has been focused on these interrelationships and also on the problems of interenterprise cooperation and agro-industrial integration, as the foundation for the efficient functioning of the country's entire agro-industrial complex. In the process, special importance is being attached to improving the economic mechanism for controlling agriculture and the agro-industrial complex on the whole.

Based upon fulfillment of the decisions handed down by the Communist Party, both agriculture and the entire agro-industrial complex are being developed successfully in the Estonian SSR. In 1975, the gross output of the complex increased by a factor of 2.5 compared to 1965 and in 1980 it will increase by another 27 percent and reach 2.52 billion rubles. At the present time, there are less than 100,000 individuals or 7.1 percent of the republic's population carrying out work at highly mechanized and large-scale agricultural enterprises (sovkhozes and kolkhozes). Each year the sovkhozes and kolkhozes produce and sell to the state, for every agricultural worker, an average of 11 tons of milk, 2.3 tons of meat, more than

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3,000 eggs, almost 13 tons of grain, 12 tons of potatoes and 0.6 tons of vegetables. The plans for 1980 called for the following products to be produced, per capita, in the Estonian SSR: 1 ton of grain, 1 ton of potatoes, 1 ton of milk, more than 200 kilograms of meat and roughly 400 eggs. The Tenth Five-Year Plan called for an increase in the average annual volume of agricultural output, compared to the previous five-year plan, of 17 percent, milk -- 20.1, livestock and poultry -- 30.8 and eggs -- an increase of 20.2 percent. In 1975, the profitability of commodity production at sovkhozes was 42.6 percent and at kolkhozes -- 43.5 percent. In 1978, the efficiency of agricultural production decreased as a result of poor weather conditions. In 1979, the profitability at sovkhozes fell to 21.5 percent and at kolkhozes -- to 21 percent.

Growth in logistical resources, without which intense and efficient agricultural production is impossible, is achieved by means of systematic increases in investments in the particular sphere. More than 1 billion rubles, or 30 percent more than during the Eighth Five-Year Plan, were allocated for developing the logistical base for agriculture during the Ninth Five-Year Plan in the Estonian SSR and the funds for this purpose will be increased by 10 percent during the Tenth Five-Year Plan. During 1979 and compared to the previous year, the value of the fixed production capital increased by 7 percent and the power engineering capabilities -- by 7.1 percent.

In carrying out the production program during the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the increase in logistical resources was less than that for the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Thus, special attention was devoted to strengthening cost accounting and raising the responsibility of the farms for the utilization of the material and financial resources allocated to agriculture. Further improvements are taking place in the use of material resources in agriculture with each passing year and yet we are still encountering incidents wherein the farms are acquiring technical equipment which is in short supply, without sufficient justification, and they are using such equipment in an inefficient manner. Thus, during 1979, the output for one conventional tractor on farms throughout the republic fluctuated from 551 to 1,965 hectares (average output for the republic -- 1,222 hectares).

Improvements in the intensity and efficiency of agricultural production are greatly dependent upon measures aimed at improving control over the economies of the agricultural enterprises and upon the skilful use of the economic stimuli and levers -- cost accounting, profit, prices, bonuses, credit. In the process, special importance is attached to improving the system of price formation for agricultural output and for the industrial products consumed by agriculture and also to the services provided for agriculture.

The measures undertaken for the purpose of improving and intensifying control over agricultural economics (introduction of monetary wages at kolkhozes commencing in 1960, the conversion of sovkhozes over to complete cost accounting in 1967, the introduction of new principles for issuing material incentives for agricultural labor from a single source -- material incentive fund -- commencing in 1971 and so forth) promoted an acceleration in the rates of growth for gross and commodity output and also for labor productivity in agriculture. However, during the past few years the production costs for agriculture have risen steadily and this is adversely affecting the economies of the farms. Periodic increases in the

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procurement prices (the last occurring on 1 January 1979) for individual products, with no improvements being carried out in price formation on the whole, preclude the possibility of normal conditions existing on individual farms for expanded reproduction.

Price formation must be based upon a systematic approach and promote the establishment of interrelationships and interdependencies between the procurement, wholesale and wholesale factory prices for goods and the rates for providing services for agriculture and it must correctly reflect the degree of participation of industry and other branches in raising the efficiency of agriculture and the APK [agro-industrial complex] on the whole. Under the existing system of price formation, agriculture is a low profitability branch of material production. Thus, in 1979 the profitability of agricultural enterprises with regard to production capital in the republic was 5.6 percent and with regard to production costs -- 21.5 percent; for 1978, the figures were 5.8 and 22.4 percent respectively. At the same time, the profitability of enterprises of the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry and Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika, with regard to the value of the fixed production capital, amounted to 40 and 12.8 percent respectively.

The great majority of kolkhozes and sovkhoses (50-65 percent) operate under worse production conditions owing to insufficient savings and they utilize their production potential to only a minor degree. At the beginning of 1979, the republic's agricultural enterprises had a monetary surplus amounting to 63.7 million rubles and by the beginning of 1980 this surplus had decreased to 51.5 million rubles and was to be found mainly on the accounts of highly profitable farms. At the same time, surplus indebtedness in terms of Gosbank credit for production requirements amounted to 84.6 million rubles (in 1979 -- 47 million rubles) and for capital investments -- 159.0 million rubles (in 1979 -- 160 million rubles), that is, the indebtedness to Gosbank compared to the previous year had increased on the average by 18 percent and at economically weak farms -- by a factor of 1.5-3. Thus, the proportion of credit is gradually increasing in the production turnover of agricultural enterprises. We are of the opinion that in order to strengthen cost accounting in capital investments for expanding production, the proportion of internal financing sources must be increased. However, during the Tenth Five-Year Plan, this proportion of investments fell to 74 percent compared to 81 percent during the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

Budgetary appropriations for agriculture, for measures carried out by non-agricultural enterprises (land reclamation, zoological and veterinary services and so forth) are increasing at a rapid rate. During the 1965-1977 period, investments for this purpose increased on the whole throughout the country by a factor of 3.8 (more than 10 percent of the overall total of financial resources used in agriculture). In the Estonian SSR, budgetary financing for land reclamation work alone amounted to more than 450 million rubles during the 1966-1975 period and during 4 years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan almost 250 million rubles have already been expended for this purpose. As a result, the proportion of reclaimed land from areas processed throughout the republic exceeded 50 percent and this, coupled with improvements in the agricultural practices, is providing comparatively high yields for the agricultural crops (the highest grain crop yield -- 31 quintals per hectare -- was achieved in 1976; in 1979, it amounted to 24.6 quintals per hectare). However, the lands reclaimed at state expense are quite often utilized incorrectly

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and inefficiently by many farms. Thus, in order to raise the responsibility of the agricultural enterprises, their participation is required in the financing of the land reclamation work.

In the interest of creating favorable conditions for agricultural development, the state uses budgetary funds for covering a portion of the expenses of sovkhozes and kolkhozes for acquiring industrially produced products. Machines, tractors, metal, fuel, mineral fertilizers, equipment and other production resources are sold to the agricultural enterprises at favorable prices. With further expansion and intensification of agricultural production, the budgetary expenditures for these purposes increase and this weakens the effectiveness of cost accounting stimuli both in agriculture and in industry. We are of the opinion that in the future a gradual conversion must be carried out from direct budgetary financing over to more complete self-support by the agricultural enterprises, with the appropriate expenditures being included in the procurement price.

In addition, the budget participates actively in the formation of the final product of the APK. Large sums in the form of the difference in prices for milk, meat and other agricultural products are paid out of the budget to the industrial enterprises which process the agricultural products and to the trade organizations. In the case of constant retail prices, a subsidy is employed here for consumption and not for production.

In recent years, the state budgetary outlays for directly financing the development of production at agricultural enterprises throughout the republic have remained at the level of 30 million rubles annually. The existing system for financing capital investments is fraught with a number of shortcomings, which preclude the possibility of making complete use of the stimulating effect of the financing-credit mechanism for raising the effectiveness of these investments. For example, in organizing the financing of state agricultural enterprises, clear and economically sound limitations between the individual sources for financing expanded reproduction are lacking. Thus the capital investment sources are determined not by the financial potential of the enterprises, but rather by deciding whether or not the objects of the investments are to be financed by means of the budget. For the construction of livestock husbandry complexes, dwellings and cultural-domestic installations, the budgetary appropriations are made available for the most part regardless of whether or not the farms have their own resources for the stated purposes or the amounts of such resources. This lowers the stimulating value of profit in the development of production, since the obtaining of budgetary funds is not associated with the internal financial resources of enterprises and is not dependent upon the results of their economic activity. Under difficult conditions, budgetary funds can be presented not only to low-profit but also to high-income farms.

At the present time, budgetary and credit financing of the planned volumes of capital investments, in the presence of a deficit of internal funds for the stated purposes, is not associated with the actual profitability of the enterprises. This leads to a situation wherein the centralized and irreversible budgetary funds for capital investments are often allocated to profitable enterprises and credits -- to low-profit or unprofitable enterprises. Measures undertaken to improve the economies of agricultural enterprises have still not brought about an equalization

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of the conditions for reproduction among them. In a computation for 100 hectares of agricultural land, economically strong farms employ capital investments in considerably greater amounts than enterprises having insufficient fixed capital and included on the list of low-profit enterprises. Thus, whereas at the end of 1979 the republic's agricultural enterprises possessed on the average 21,700 rubles worth of fixed capital per 100 hectares of cultivated land, the economically strong farms (poultry and hog raising farms) -- 60,000 rubles worth, and economically backward farms (mainly livestock raising and vegetable raising farms) -- from 11,300 to 14,000 rubles worth of fixed capital. At the same time, the differences between the agricultural enterprises in the level of development of the logistical base are not only continuing, but in fact they are gradually becoming greater.

At the present time, the coefficient of variation in the equipping of the republic's farms with fixed production capital amounts to more than 40 percent, labor resources -- 44, profit per hectare of cultivated land -- 82 percent and so forth. In 1979, 10 percent of the sovkhoses operated at a loss or had zero results, 70 percent had profitabilities of less than 25 percent and only 20 percent of the sovkhoses had profitabilities which exceeded 25 percent. Moreover, during the Ninth Five-Year Plan the coefficients of variation increased by 8 percent for equipment availability, 5 percent for the availability of labor resources and 14 percent for profit. At the present time, differences are being observed in the conditions of management for the sovkhoses and kolkhoses. For example, the profit norm per hectare of cultivated land at sovkhoses fluctuates from 13 to 1,045 rubles and at kolkhoses -- from 43 to 506 rubles.

In order to prevent greater differentiation in the economic status of enterprises and in the interest of smoothing out the conditions for agricultural production, we are of the opinion that a conversion should ideally be made over to the normative methods for planning capital investments, methods which call for a definite level of equipment availability with the aid of the budget and beyond the budget -- using internal resources and bank credit. The normative indicator should be introduced into the long-range plans for farm development and the volumes of capital investments should be distributed among the farms in conformity with it.

At the present time, owing to irregularities in the system of intra-branch redistribution, a considerable portion of the financial resources of high-profit farms (several tens of millions of rubles) is not being utilized. These funds are the resources of Gosbank for issuing credit for the national economy.

Experience has shown that the more complicated the conditions of management, the stronger the effect on these conditions of unfavorable weather factors. However, in the case of an excessive dispersion of capital investments, their effectiveness decreases even at economically strong farms. We are of the opinion that it is most advisable to carry out investments at economically backward farms, since more unused reserves are available here for raising production efficiency.

Since the procurement prices are oriented towards average-zonal production conditions and ensure normal cost accounting stimuli for 20-30 percent of the farms in the Estonian SSR, then the majority of those kolkhoses and sovkhoses which operate under objectively worse conditions are employing their production potential in a weak manner, owing to an insufficiency of internal resources and stimuli and

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limited budgetary financing. This leads to a slow-down in the rates of development for the branch and insufficient support for the population in terms of food products and for industry -- in raw materials. The procurement prices must ensure normal cost accounting stimuli for a majority of the farms and those economically strong enterprises which operate under objectively better conditions must, on a normative basis, contribute a portion of their additional profits to the budget in the form of payments. A source for covering the production costs of those farms operating under worse conditions could be the net income created at all technological stages in the production and processing of agricultural products (in 1977, the total amount of net income from the production and processing of agricultural products amounted to 61.1 billion rubles, including profit -- 20.9 billion rubles and turnover tax -- 40.2 billion rubles).

An important reserve for accelerating the rates of growth for agricultural efficiency is that of improving the structure of investments in the key branches of the agro-industrial complex. The development of those branches of industry which supply agriculture with mechanization equipment should ideally be accelerated, since agriculture throughout the republic is still not being supplied adequately with the machines and mechanisms required for the complex mechanization of all production processes and this is forcing the enterprises into producing the required machines and units themselves using primitive methods.

Under the conditions imposed by agro-industrial integration, great importance is attached to achieving a combination of branch and territorial principles for organizing and controlling the economic system. During the 25th CPSU Congress, L.I. Brezhnev noted that in addition to complex mechanization, the use of chemical processes and land reclamation, the principal tasks associated with agricultural development include further specialization and concentration of production based upon intensified interenterprise cooperation. The harmonious development of the agro-industrial complex is dependent to a considerable degree upon these tasks being solved.

Those enterprises created on the basis of specialization, concentration and agro-industrial integration are producing high production results. Thus, at an experimental hog raising combine of the model-demonstration Sovkhoz Technical School imeni Yu. Gagarin (a completed production cycle and a capability for 5,400 tons of pork annually), where the production processes are fully mechanized, the direct labor expenditures per quintal of weight increase in the hogs during 1979 amounted to 4.2 man-hours, whereas the average indicator for the republic, for the same period of time, was greater by a factor of 2.1. Or, for example, the direct labor expenditures for the production of 1 quintal of milk in 1979 at a completely mechanized dairy farm (for 1,100 cows) of the Laatre Sovkhoz in Valgaskiy Rayon amounted to 2.2 man-hours (less by a factor of two than the average for kolkhozes and sovkhozes throughout the republic). The profitability for milk production at the large "Laatre" farm was 55 percent. This exceeded the average profitability for farms throughout the republic by a factor of more than two. In addition, the development of industrial methods ensures a stable production rhythm.

The extensive development of cooperation is opening up new opportunities for the concentration of resources and production and for raising the level of its collectivization. In the production associations formed on a cooperative basis,

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the prerequisites are being created for the industrial reorganization of all agricultural branches and, even more important, it will be possible here to take into account the urgent requirements of the economic mechanism, to overcome the limitations placed upon the isolated cost accounting of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and to weaken the conflict between the centralization and decentralization of economic interests.

An administrative rayon is a basic and common production, social and administrative complex in which the agricultural and service enterprises and party and soviet organs of control function in close contact with one another as they solve common tasks: produce the final products with minimal expenditures, ensure balanced economic and social development for the given territory. The rayon agricultural administrations coordinate to a definite degree the work being carried out on their territories by agricultural enterprises, but not those enterprises which provide services for agriculture or process its output. Many isolated agricultural enterprises and especially enterprises which provide services for agriculture are subordinate to other enterprises. The rayon agricultural administrations do not have their own resources for exerting an economic influence on the reproduction processes and they bear no economic responsibility for their own actions; the material interest of their workers in the final results of their activity is considerably less than that of farm workers. Thus, their potential for exercising scientific and planned control over the production, social and economic processes is limited.

The existing system of cost accounting in the primary echelon of control is concerned only with the expanded reproduction of individual sovkhoses and kolkhozes and does not call for the maintenance of proportionality or balance in the production, economic and social growth factors for a rayon or the republic as a whole. The development of production forces and technical-social contacts is stimulated more completely and purposefully only if the efforts and resources of individual farms are combined through the use of cost accounting for territorial-branch formations. In the RAPO's [rayon agro-industrial association] created in the Vil'yandinskiy and Pyarnuskiy rayons of Estonia, these functions are being carried out successfully by centralized funds, which simultaneously serve as economic levers for influencing reproduction and social development. The differentiation in the contributions being made by the farms to the centralized funds, based upon taking into account the conditions of management, signifies to a definite degree a leveling off of these conditions. The centralization of financial resources for carrying out production specialization and concentration and for improving the cultural-domestic conditions of association workers is also important from the standpoint of drawing the two forms of ownership closer together.

Experience in the operation of the Vil'yandinskiy Rayon agro-industrial association reveals that this form of control over agriculture is effective. It promotes agricultural development at an accelerated tempo, it ensures production concentration and specialization and modernization of the logistical base and it promotes the rapid introduction of modern scientific achievements and leading experience and further development of the territorial and branch principle of control. Under the conditions found in our republic, a state-cooperative, agro-industrial production association ensures a constant intensification of production, the efficient use of state resources and successful solutions for the problems of social development in the rural areas.

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During the 1976-1979 period, the average annual production of grain in Vil'yandinskiy Rayon was 14,000 tons, potatoes -- 21,300 tons, milk -- 95,100 tons, meat -- 21,700 tons and eggs -- 10.5 million. Compared to the average annual production figures for the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the figure for milk was higher by 29 percent and that for meat -- higher by 39 percent. There are 11,500 individuals engaged in agricultural production and 95,000 hectares of land are being cultivated. The indicators for the effectiveness of Vil'yandinskiy Rayon in terms of agriculture surpass the average indicators for the republic as a whole. The Pyarnuskiy Rayon agro-industrial association, organized in 1979, has also displayed advantages in the carrying out of the principal types of agricultural work (sowing, harvesting, feed procurement and so forth). In 1980 and compared to 1979, milk production increased by more than 10 percent, meat -- by 10 percent; these figures were higher than the average rates of growth for the republic.

Compared to a rayon agricultural administration, a RAPO has great opportunities at its disposal for utilizing economic levers for developing production in the rayons. Four centralized funds provide the material base for this: production development fund, fund for social-cultural measures and housing construction, material incentives fund and mutual assistance fund. All of the kolkhozes and enterprises subordinate to an association participate in the creation of the funds and the norms for contributions to the funds are differentiated based upon objective conditions of management. The volume of the funds, the basis for their creation and also an estimate of their use are approved by the associations council. In 1979, the centralized funds amounted to 5 percent of the farm profits. In the future, the centralization of funds will increase to 10-15 percent of the profits of all farms in the rayon. This ensures the financing of all common undertakings. At the same time, sufficient funds will remain at the disposal of the farms for developing production using their own resources. The plans call for all rayons throughout the republic to convert over to this form of economic control.

The territorial-branch principle of agricultural control, based upon cost accounting at the rayon level, must be organically combined with the branch and inter-branch principles of control and at the republic level. Thus, we are of the opinion that in the future and throughout the republic, in addition to rayon interenterprise cost accounting associations, work will also be performed by ministries, committees and associations organized according to the branch principle (for example, Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, Estpishcheprom, Estkolkhozstroy and so forth).

In the future, as the logistical foundation for improving economic relationships throughout the republic is created, the formation of a republic agro-industrial association will become possible. It could include agricultural type ministries, industrial branches associated with the production of goods for agriculture, branches which process agricultural output and procurement, trade-marketing, supply, motor transport and other organizations which provide services for agriculture. The ministries and departments may fully retain their function as state branch organs of control and at the same time remain directly subordinate to the organ that controls the republic agro-industrial association.

In view of the fact that great differences exist in the profitabilities of individual farms -- owing to the fact that the results of their activities are influenced by objective factors -- the payments into the budget by highly profitable

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sovkhozes and kolkhozes which operate under the best management conditions should ideally be increased, while farms which operate under the worst of conditions -- have profitabilities lower than the optimum level, that is, less than 30 percent of the production costs and 12 percent of the production funds -- should be released entirely from having to make payments into the budget.

The existing economic mechanism engenders unjustified differences between the sovkhozes and kolkhozes in connection with the sources for establishing the funds for expanded reproduction, in the distribution of income, in the principles for establishing production costs and the wage fund, in the forms for making payments into the budget and in social security and insurance for kolkhoz members. These differences confront the sovkhozes and kolkhozes with unequal socio-economic conditions and this limits the opportunities for the planned utilization of material and labor resources in agriculture. We are of the opinion that a gradual conversion should ideally be carried out over to a single economic mechanism for controlling the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

We believe that the system now in use at kolkhozes for making payments into the budget should be standardized and placed in use at sovkhozes. In the interest of bringing the profit and net income distribution system at kolkhozes and sovkhozes closer together, a system of issuing bonuses to all workers from a single source -- material incentives fund -- should be introduced, with money being added to this fund depending upon the increase in gross output volume compared to the level achieved during the preceeding 3 years and upon the total amount of savings realized in production expenditures, computed per ruble of gross output.

In order to place the farms and associations under equal conditions with regard to the logistical support for production programs, the state plans should ideally be developed based upon normatives, limits, indicators and norms for material and labor expenditures, as approved by USSR Gosplan. Moreover, one group of indicators established on a centralized basis defines what the farms and associations must place at the disposal of the national economy (grain, meat, milk, vegetables and so forth) and the other group -- what the state must place at the disposal of the farm or association (credit, volume of fixed capital, raw materials limits and so forth).

The realization of a complex of measures aimed at improving control over agriculture will ensure improvements in our Soviet economy and it will make it possible to achieve new successes in communist construction. During the 25th party congress, L.I. Brezhnev emphasized that "The Central Committee opposes rash and hasty reorganizations of administrative structures or of existing methods of management. Look before you leap, as the saying goes, and try something out eight or even ten times before finally putting it to use. But if you have already tried it out and if you are aware that the constantly developing national economy is restricted within the framework of the existing economic mechanism, then the latter must be improved in a decisive manner.

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RESULTS ON CONFERENCE ON SOVIET UIGHUR STUDIES REPORTED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA in Russian No 6, 1980 pp 143-147

[Article by A. M. Reshetov: "Scholarly Conference on Topical Problems in Soviet Uighur Studies"]

[Text] On 29--31 May 1979 the First Republic-Level Scholarly Uighur Studies Conference was held in the city of Alma-Ata, the capital of the Kazakh SSR. It was entitled "Topical Problems in Soviet Uighur Studies" and was organized by the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences and the Uighur Studies Section of the Institute of Linguistics of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. This was the first time that such an extensive, representative forum had gathered together, uniting all the Uighur scholars in our country. Taking part in the work of this conference were scholars from Moscow, Leningrad, Alma-Ata, Tashkent, Frunze, Novosibirsk, and other cities in our country. Two plenary sessions were held (they heard five reports), and three sections were in operation: linguistics, literary and artistic studies, history and ethnography (67 reports and communications were read).

The conference was opened by the Vice-President of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, Academician of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences B. A. Tulepbayev. First to speak at the plenary session was N. A. Baskakov (Moscow) with his report, "Principal Milestones in the Development of Uighur Studies." Soviet Uighur studies, he noted, have taken shape as a complex discipline, encompassing problems in the study of the language, folklore, literature, national culture, history, and ethnography of the Uighur people. Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution the efforts of many scholars had created the foundation of scholarly Uighur studies. A large role in the development of Pre-Revolutionary as well as Soviet Uighur studies was played by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences S. E. Malov--the pioneer in conducting field studies of the Uighur language, culture, and everyday life, the author of numerous basic works which remain to the present day of very great importance for Uighur studies and for Turkology in general.

The rapporteur distinguished four periods in the development of Uighur studies after the Great October Revolution: two pre-war--the 1920's and 1930's; and the two post-war the 1940's--1950's and the 1960's--1970's. Each period is characterized by specific achievements in the study of the language, literature, and history of the Uighurs. N. A. Baskakov considers the following tasks to be particularly urgent for Soviet Uighurology: publication of a scholarly normative grammar of the modern Uighur language; compiling a dialect atlas and an interpretive dictionary; creation of a general work on the history of Uighur literature; publication of the classics of Uighur literature; collecting, publishing, and researching all genres

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of Uighur folklore; the creation of a general and basic history of the Uighur people, and the study of the problems of the national liberation movement in Eastern Turkestan.\*

A joint report by E. N. Nadzhip (Moscow), A. T. Kaydarov, and G. S. Sadvakasov (Alma-Ata), "Uighur Linguistics in the USSR at the Present Stage: Results and Problems" emphasized that during the Soviet period there has been a precipitous development of Turkological scholarship in general and Uighur studies in particular. This report stated that important scholarly and tactical problems were solved in connection with the daily needs of the Soviet Uighurs' cultural life: the creation of a writing system, a determination of the status of the literary language, a study of the living speech and linguistic categories and so forth. As topical problems of Uighur linguistics the rapporteurs assigned top priority to studies in the history, grammatical structure, phonetics, dialectology, lexicography, and lexicology of the Uighur language.

M. Aliyeva, K. Tokhtamov (Alma-Ata), and U. Mamatakhunov (Tashkent) presented a report entitled "The Flourishing of Literature and Art of the Soviet Uighurs." It noted that under the conditions of the socialist system Soviet Uighurs have acquired extensive possibilities to develop their own culture. The opening of schools and the publication of newspapers and journals in their native language created favorable opportunities for the formation of Uighur Soviet literature and art. All literary genres have developed intensively and harmoniously, while the professional skills of Uighur literary figures have also increased. Sections of Uighur literature have now been organized within the writers' unions of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

The achievements of Soviet scholars in historical ethnographic research on the Uighurs was the subject of a report by G. M. Iskhakov (Alma-Ata), S. G. Klyashtorny, and A.M. Reshetov (Leningrad). It noted the great importance of analyzing Uighur documents as a source for the re-creation of the socioeconomic, political, and partly the cultural life of the Uighurs in ancient times and during the Middle Ages. This report characterized the achievements in working out the problems of the modern and most recent history of the Uighurs, with particular regard to their struggle against the policy of forced assimilation and the feudal yoke of the Chinese exploiters. Furthermore, the rapporteurs indicated the successes of Soviet ethnographers in studying the ethnocultural development of the Uighur people within the socialist society. In recent years a joint study of the traditional and contemporary daily life and culture has been conducted by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Uighur Studies Section of the Institute of Linguistics of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. There have been concrete achievements in the anthropological study of the Uighurs.

Approximately 20 reports were delivered in the Linguistics Section. It began its work with a report by one of the oldest Soviet Turkologists, Ye. I. Ubryatova (Novosibirsk), "Traces of the Uighur Language in the Turkic Languages of Siberia." Certain problems in the history of the language were also examined in the communications by O. Sultan'yayev (Kokchetav), "On the Terms for Titles and Ranks, as

\* For more details see: N. A. Baskakov, "Principal Milestones in the Development of Soviet Uighur Studies," SOV. TYURKOLOGIYA, Baku, 1979, No 4, pp 3-9.

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Encountered in the Works of Ch. Valikhanov on Eastern Turkestan," V. Makhpirov (Alma-Ata), "On Turkic Onomastics, Encountered in the 'Divan lugat-at-turk' of Makhmud Kashgarskiy," T. T. Talipov (Alma-Ata), "On the Question of the Tendency to Sound the Anlaut in the History of the Uighur Language."

Of undoubted interest for the linguistic study of the languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan are the reports by A. Imanbayev and O. Nakisbekov (Alma-Ata) on the interaction and mutual influence of the Uighur and Kazakh languages in the regions of contact between the respective peoples on the territory of the republic; Kh. A. Nasyrov (Leninabad) on the place of Tajik-Persian interrelationships in the phraseology system of the modern Uighur language; O. A. Mizin (Yelabug) on the enrichment of the Uighur language under present-day conditions (the appearance of homonyms as a result of linguistic contacts).

The report by M. I. Trofimov (Osh) dealt with one of the problems connected with the study of the interaction between the Uighur and Russian languages--the phenomenon of palatalization of vowels in Russianisms in the modern Uighur language.

A number of reports were devoted to the grammar of the modern Uighur language. Lively discussions were caused by the reports by A. G. Khamitova (Tashkent), "Methods of Expressing Degrees of Comparison in Adjectives in the Modern Uighur Language" and that by K. A. Sharipova (Tashkent), "Affixational Synonyms within the Noun System of the Uighur Language."

Problems which have scarcely been studied on the linguistic and ethnographic levels were examined in the detailed report by I. A. Ismailov (Tashkent), "Study of the Present-Day Status of the System of Kinship Terms among the Uighurs." The rapporteur emphasized that the Uighur terminology makes a precise distinction between kinship in the proper sense of this word /blood relationship/ and relationship by marriage. The overwhelming majority of Uighur kinship terms have a group meaning and encompass a wide circle of persons. The basically classificational nature of the system is combined with distinctions made among individual terms, for example, ata, dada--for father, ana, apa--for mother, er--for husband, khatun--for wife, and so forth. Most of the terms distinguish the sex of the person being referred to. Relatives on the father's side and on the mother's side are designated by the same terms. Nevertheless, the Uighurs lack permanent, standard terms for certain categories of blood relatives and relatives by marriage, and this poses the question of more profound study and the re-creation of a developmental scheme for the system of blood relationship and relationship by marriage among the Uighurs.

The communications of R. F. Tarasenko (Moscow) and M. Zaidi (Tashkent) touched upon problems connected with the present-day status of the Uighur literary language in the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of the PRC, and they exposed the "Great Han" policy of the Chinese chauvinists, who are subjecting the Uighurs to a forced linguistic assimilation.

The section entitled "Studies in Literature and Art" heard more than 20 reports. U. Mamatakhunov's (Tashkent) report, "Certain Problems in the Study of Uighur Classical Literature" convincingly demonstrated the topicality of work on the research and popularization of the landmarks of Uighur classical literature. This



is connected primarily with the fact that the Chinese chauvinists in Xinjiang are conducting a policy which infringes upon the national dignity of the Uighur people.

The report by S. Mollaudoov (Alma-Ata) was devoted to the theme of patriotism in the creative work of the 18th-century Uighur poets. This same theme was developed in the report by I. Rozybakiyev (Tashkent), "Reflections of the Liberation Struggle in the Creative Work of Zunun Kadyr." A. Bakiyev (Tashkent) talked about the newly-discovered Divan by Khirkati, and new information about the 19th-century Uighur poet Khushkhal Garibi was set forth by D. Dzhalilov (Tashkent).

A number of reports examined the problems of the reciprocal ties between Uighur literature and the literatures of neighboring peoples. Thus, D. Ruziyev (Tashkent) devoted his report to the influence of the Navoi [?] tradition on the creative work of A. Nizari, and P. Sabitova (Alma-Ata) spoke about the influence of Central Asian Soviet literatures on Uighur literature. The report of M. Abdrakhmanov (Alma-Ata), "Tradition and Innovation in Uighur Soviet Poetry," contained an analysis of the socio-historical prerequisites for the birth and emergence of Uighur Soviet poetry; he elucidated the predominance of certain topics and images along with their subsequent development during the Soviet period. The rapporteur convincingly demonstrated the active influence of the poetry of the country's fraternal peoples, especially that of the Russian people, on the development of modern Soviet Uighur poetry. R. Kadyri (Tashkent), by using the example of the creative work of the leading Uighur writers, L. Mutallib, P. Azizi, N. Bosakov, and Z. Samadi, analyzed the inextricable tie between the national and the international in Uighur literature.

The report by M. Aliyeva (Alma-Ata) examined the folkloric traditions in Uighur classical literature. Two reports were devoted to musical folklore. The report by A. Khashimov (Tashkent) spoke about the study of the Uighur 12 mukhammas, while the report of T. M. Alibakiyeva (Alma-Ata) dealt with the connection between the Uighur folk music art and the mukhammas. The professional musical art of the Uighurs during the Soviet period was the subject of a report by K. F. Kirina (Alma-Ata); "Modern Times on the Stage of the Uighur Musical-Comedy Theatre" was the topic of a communication by A. N. Kadyrov.

The problem of studying a classical cultural heritage--the world-renowned architectural structures of the Ming-Uy ("Cave of the Thousand Buddhas")--was the subject of a report by I. Tukhtiyev (Tashkent). The cave temples and monasteries of Eastern Turkestan, which were created during the period from the First--Second through the Seventh--Eighth centuries, were connected with the Buddhism which penetrated here during the Second--First centuries B.C. from the neighboring western regions. The Ming Uy--a harmonious synthesis of architecture, sculpture, and painting--constitutes a valuable source for the study of the culture and daily life of the ancient and medieval peoples of Eastern Turkestan, as well as their ethnic cultural ties with the neighboring peoples.

R. U. Karimova (Alma-Ata) talked about the artistic form of items made of metal by the Uighurs. Serving as material for her report were the Uighur Collections of the Kazakh SSR Museum of Arts.

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More than 20 reports were listened to at the "History and Ethnography" Section. S. G. Klyashtorny (Leningrad) told us about the new discoveries of Ancient Uighur runic landmarks in Central Asia, while D. D. Vasil'yev (Moscow) talked about the characteristics of the stock of Uighur runic writings in Eastern Turkestan. As D. D. Vasil'yev demonstrated, distinctions can be made among the landmarks of Ancient Turkic writing in the manuscript and epigraphic texts from Eastern Turkestan, using various criteria--folkloric, functional, and chronological. These landmarks, which, like a number of others from Mongolia and Southern Siberia, are linked with the names of the members of Uighur dynasties, have been given in the specialized literature the designation "landmarks of the Ancient Uighur Period." A systematization of the writing traits and the ensuing analysis of the stock of writings has allowed us to isolate within the region three groups of landmarks, each distinguished from the others by paleographic characteristics. Mastery of the historical source of the stock of writings of the Ancient Turkic runes will enable us to substantially supplement our information about the internal ethno-linguistic structure of the medieval Turkic-speaking state formations of Central Asia.

D. I. Tikhonov (Leningrad) characterized the principal stages of Uighur cultural development. He showed convincingly that although the Qing conquest of Eastern Turkestan in the mid-18th century retarded, it did not interrupt the development of the Uighur culture, which took place in constant contact with the neighboring peoples. The Great October Socialist Revolution exerted a vitally creative influence on the subsequent development of Uighur culture.

The report by L. P. Potapov (Leningrad) examined for the first time the problem of the oldest elements in the traditional culture of the modern Turkic-speaking Altay-Sayan peoples. This rapporteur drew upon a considerable amount of ethnographic material, written Uighur and Chinese sources from the Ancient Turkic period, linguistic and archeological data, which allowed him to reveal a large stratum of Ancient Uighur elements, particularly in the shamanic beliefs of the Altay-Sayan peoples. He succeeded not only in establishing parallels but also in demonstrating a complete analogy, for example, between a number of wedding customs, shamanic rites, and ritual terminology among the Ancient Uighurs and phenomena which existed until recent times among the Tuvans, Altays, Shortsians [?], and Khakass. With good grounds the author dates these ancient Uighur elements back to the period of the Uighur Khanate (9th century), and he demonstrated that they belonged to those groups of Uighurs which were designated as "on uighur" and "tokuz uighur." It was precisely these groups of Uighurs which constituted a substratum, on the basis of which the modern-day Turkic-speaking Altay-Sayan peoples were subsequently formed. Preserved among them to this very day have been such clan and tribal names as "uighur" and "on uighur." L. P. Potapov's report also represents considerable interest on the level of present-day studies devoted to the historical, ethnographic, and ethno-cultural links among the peoples of the USSR and their common cultural heritage.

As the report of M. Kutlukov (Tashkent) revealed, the Institute of Eastern Studies of the Uzbek SSR has preserved manuscripts and documents in the Uighur and Persian languages--a valuable source for studying the history of Eastern Turkestan from the 16th century to the 1860's and its mutual ties with Central Asia. These materials are helpful, for example, in making more precise certain facts with regard to the history of the Yarked Khanate, which was formed at the beginning of the 16th century and which lasted almost 170 years. This khanate facilitated the consolidation of the Uighur people, the development of its culture, and the strengthening of its

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power and might. The manuscripts contain quite a bit of valuable information on the struggle for power between the feudal factions known as the "Black Mountaineers" and the "White Mountaineers."

B. F. Gurevich (Moscow) presented a report entitled "Problems in the History of the Peoples of Xinjiang in the Historiography of the PRC." He subjected to well-argued criticism the present-day "conceptions" of Chinese scholars who are attempting to prove that Xinjiang was always a component part of China. With the aid of such "constructs" Chinese Maoist propaganda is trying to provide grounds for the "correctness" of the invasion by the Qing Empire at the beginning of the 18th century into the northwestern regions of Central Asia, to play down the conquest nature of the policy of the Chinese feudal lords, to conceal their bad deeds on the lands of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and other non-Chinese peoples, in particular, the almost complete physical destruction of the Oirats. Based on the example of certain works by contemporary Chinese authors (Lu Zhen-yu, Gu Yun, Ma Yong, and others) the rapporteur showed how for the benefit of the great-power-chauvinist course of the Beijing leaders facts are being juggled and distorted, and what could conceivably be disadvantageous to China is being hushed up; certain positions of present-day Chinese scholars contradict their previous utterances, etc. Some historians in the PRC have crudely falsified the migration problem, linked with the transfer by Russia to China of the Ili Territory in 1881, after which a considerable portion of its population, primarily Uighurs, fled from their Manchurian-Chinese persecutors out of Xinjiang into Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

The report by I. I. Yusupov (Alma-Ata), "The Qing Conquest of Eastern Turkestan and Its Consequences" demonstrated the forced nature of the annexation of Altyshtar by China in 1759. This rapporteur distinguished the following factors which were of help with regard to the rapid and easy conquest of Eastern Turkestan by Qing China: the feudal fractionation and extreme exacerbation of the internal political struggle between the "White Mountaineer" and "Black Mountaineer" khodjas (which led to the country's exhaustion and de facto split-up into two irreconcilable camps), the strengthening of China's position in Khakha and Dzhungaria after the defeat of the anti-Qing uprising of Prince Tsengun'zhab Khotogoyksly and the suppression of the liberation rebellion of the Oirats headed up by Amursana (1756--1757), as well as a favorable international situation, etc.

A. Kadyrbayev (Alma-Ata) read a communication, "On the Cultural Role of the Uighurs in the Yuan Empire. 12th--14th Centuries (According to Chinese Sources)." During the Yuan period the Uighurs, who became part of the privileged "semu" ("sezhan") class, played, in the rapporteur's words, a significant role in various sectors of the country's life. In essence, they, along with the Mongols, became a part of the poly-ethnic ruling class. The Mongols did not have sufficient experience to govern such an enormous empire, and, since they did not entirely trust the Chinese personnel staffs in themselves, they drew the Uighurs into participating in leading the country and its spiritual life. In the last period (1295--1368) of the dynasty's rule alone the Chinese sources mention 47 Uighur scholars and members of the Hanlin Academy; of these 26 had the higher academic degree of jinshi. The Uighurs translated the works of Buddhist literature into Mongolian and Chinese, they took part in working out state acts, served as officials at the emperor's court, and so forth.

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The report by O. V. Zotov (Moscow) was devoted to an analysis of the relations between the two Kashgarian cities of Komul and Turfan during the period of the 14th--16th centuries in Ming China. These neutral city-states were located between the Chagatay Ulus [tribal area] and the Yuan Empire. In the rapporteur's opinion, Komul remained during this period an independent city-state, whose population, Uighurs, professed both Islam and Buddhism. Although the sources contain information about Komul's bringing tribute to the Mings, this still does not speak in favor of that point of view which sees this Uighur state as subordinate to China, since this "tribute" constituted, as Soviet Sinologists have established, a form of exchange trade. Komul always leaned toward Turfan, and China did not succeed in making Komul's Buddhist rulers their allies. With the transfer of power to Muslims, the Chinese after 1513 completely abandoned their attempts to maintain even the semblance of a political alliance with Komul.

In the report by A. I. Narynbayev (Frunze) an attempt was made to analyze the problem of the development of Uighur progressive social-philosophical thought during the second half of the 19th century.

T. K. Beysembiyev (Alma-Ata) devoted his presentation to information about the "Ta'rkhi-i Shakhrukhi" about Eastern Turkestan. This work, the official court chronicle of the rulers of Kokand from the beginning of the 18th century to the 1870's, enables us to refine a number of questions dealing with the history of Eastern Turkestan and to trace certain problems of inter-ethnic relations between the peoples living in this region.

The report by V. S. Kuznetsov (Moscow) examined in detail the question of the contribution made by Russian scholars to the study of the Uighurs' material culture. This problem, stated the rapporteur, is particularly topical now in connection with the fact that in present-day Western and, moreover, in Chinese historiography, attempts are being made to hush up or to belittle the contributions made by Russian scholarship to the study of the civilization of the Central Asian peoples, especially that of Uighur culture. Nevertheless, it was in 1879 that one of the genuinely first discoverers of this region's antiquities, the Russian naturalist E. A. Regel', not only discovered in the Turfan oasis the ruins of the city of Khodzho, the former capital of the Uighur state but also asserted the theoretically important opinion concerning the presence in Turfan of an original culture (architecture and building), created by the native peoples. The Western European researchers A. Stein, A. Von Le kok, and others were already only followers of A. Regel'. This report spoke about the enormous contribution which was made to the multi-faceted study of the landmarks of the material culture of Kashgaria proper by A. F. Petrovskiy, whose name is linked with the investigation of such landmarks as Khan-uy and Uchma-Ravan. His conclusions about the independent centers of Uighur crafts compelled researchers to take a critical approach to the previously existing, one-sided representation of China as the "world's workshop," supplying its neighbors with handicraft items. This report characterized the activity of scholars who facilitated the eradication of false ideas about the supposedly primitive nature of agriculture and handicrafts among the Uighurs. These included G. Ye. Grum-Grzhimaylo, who described in detail the hydraulic engineering structures among the Uighurs, in particular, the kyariza [?], as well as B. L. Grombochevskiy, who gathered material about nephrite handicrafts among the Uighurs of Yarkend and Khatan. Thus, the efforts of Russian scholars led to the reading for the first time of the vivid pages of the multi-century history of the material culture of the peoples of

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Eastern Turkestan, including the Uighurs.

M. N. Kabirotov (Alma-Ata) talked about the progressive importance of resettling the 111 Uighurs in Semirach'ye; D. Isiyev (Alma-Ata)--about Uighur participation in the Great Patriotic War, and M. I. Yerzin (Alma-Ata)--on the emergence and development of the Uighur Soviet press.

The communication by M. D. Savurov (Tashkent) examined the question of international marriages among Uighurs in the Uzbek SSR (based on examples at the Kim Penkhva Kolkhoz in Tashkentskaya Oblast). According to the estimated data, for the period from 1968 through 1979 the proportion of mixed marriages amounted to approximately 10 percent. They are entered upon primarily by Uighur men, who marry Uzbek women.

A report on the topic "Cultural-Historical and Ethnographical Factors in the Dissemination of Garden Plants" was read by S. Yu. Turdiyev (Alma-Ata). Drawing upon a large amount of factual material based on the teachings of N. I. Vavilov about the centers of origin of cultivated plants, the rapporteur demonstrated the Uighur contribution to the development of gardening and the dissemination of garden plants in Eastern Turkestan.

A. Akimbek (Alma-Ata) talked about the ethnographic Uighur collection which he had assembled, and he demonstrated individual items from this collection. This report was accompanied by the showing of a motion-picture about Uighur folk workshops.

At the conference's concluding plenary session a report was delivered by T. R. Rakhimov (Moscow) concerning the present-day status in the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of the PRC.

At the sessions of the various sections lively discussions took place concerning the reports which were heard. This conference evoked great interest among the Uighur public: delegations arrived from the principal regions of the most compact Uighur population. The plenary sessions were attended by as many as 500 guests. The conference participants visited Uighur villages, attended concerts by Uighur amateur performers, as well as a show by the Uighur Musical Comedy Theater.

The conference demonstrated the high level of development which Uighur studies has attained in the USSR, and this constitutes a vivid testimony to the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy and the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR.

The resolution which was adopted at the conference outlined practical measures for the further development of Uighur studies in our country, improvements in the structure of the Uighur Studies Section of the Institute of Linguistics of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences (the creation of linguistic and historical-ethnographic sectors, as well as an art studies group), ensuring the training of Uighur studies staffs in the localities (in Alma-Ata and Tashkent), as well as in the traditional centers for training Turkologists (Moscow and Leningrad). It was decided to publish the materials of the present conference. Plans were made to hold the next conference in Alma-Ata in 1982.

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SOVIET SCHOLAR ON ETHNIC UNITY OF SOVIET, IRANIAN AZERBAIJAN

Baku PROTIV BURZHUAZNYKH FAL'SIFIKATOROV ISTORII I KUL'TURY AZERBAYDZHANA in Azeri 1978 pp 114-124

[Editorial Summary by Sh. A. Taghyev: "On the Denial of the Ethnic Unity of the People of Azerbaijan by Contemporary Iranian Bourgeois Historical Science"]

[Text] "The historical past of the Soviet Azerbaijani and Iranian Azerbaijani population who were at one time one people, the origin and formation of the people of Azerbaijan, their state and cultural history are being falsified in every way in Iranian bourgeois historical studies. The fundamental and actual goal of Iranian bourgeois historians consists of denying that the population living in Soviet and...Iranian Azerbaijan are two parts of an historically single people." The Iranian historians contributing to this trend are enumerated...

On the ethnogenesis of the Azerbaijani people and source of the language, the Iranian historian Kasravi maintains "that the ancestors of the Azerbaijanis living in Iran are...considered to be Medes who mixed with local tribes settled in Iranian Azerbaijan." This is considered to be "pan-Iranism" by Taghyeva. Furthermore, "Iranian...historians attempt to prove...that nothing other than the language unity beginning after the Seljuk invasion in the 11th century unite the population living in Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan." At the same time, any ethnic unity is denied. To understand this, one must understand the "administrative, geographical and ethnic meanings of the word 'Azerbaijan.'"

The Iranian line, according to Kasravi, is that "now Arran is called Azerbaijan"; another Iranian historian, Meshkur, claims that "the name Soviet Azerbaijan is not an historical name, perhaps it is a new political concept." In short, Iranian historians deny that Azerbaijan was ever applied to Soviet Azerbaijan "despite the fact that, according to some of the examples they use, it is clear that the same sources sometimes include both regions under the name Azerbaijan...Iranian historians close their eyes to documents and sources which contradict their pan-Iranist ideas."

A review of the sources and their application of the expression Azerbaijan administratively, geographically and ethnically clarifies the situation. The scholar Pakhomov noted that according to an inscription dating from the year 553 A.D., the northern border of Azerbaijan "reached almost to Derbent"; in other words, as an administrative unity, the northern borderland of Azerbaijan as far as Derbent was called "the land of Azerbaijan." The scholar Bunyatov mentions

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that even in the 3d century, in the Sassanian period at the time of Ardashir I the "northern spahbod" [province] was formed under the name "Azerbaijan spahbod." As for Arran, after the Arab invasions (8th-10th centuries), al-Ya'qubi called Arran "upper Azerbaijan." The scholar Valikhanly notes that "Arab authors sometimes considered Barda, Beylagan, Ganja and Baku, cities which are situated north of the Araz River, to be the territory of Azerbaijan."

Geographically, at-Tabari (10th century) mentioned that Azerbaijan extended to the Khazar city of Derbent in the north. In the 13th century, Ahmad Razi, "while showing one part of Azerbaijan--Shirvan--as a separate province, writes that Azerbaijan stretched from Baku to Khalkhal." In the 16th century, numerous sources have stated that "the Safavids...(were successful) in uniting the territory of Azerbaijan into a unified state..." In the 17th century the encyclopedia "Borhan-e qate'" mentions that "Arran, which contains Ganja and Barda, is a province of Azerbaijan." Also, the traveler Evliya Chelebi referred to Garabagh as "little Azerbaijan." A decree issued in 1703 by the Safavid state in order to establish "where Western Christians lived" located them "in a number of provinces of Azerbaijan--Shirvan, Garabagh, Tabriz, Ganja, Nakhchyvan." This data is repeated in another decree issued in 1764.

Before examining the Russian sources one should note the judgment made by the Tehran historical journal BARRASIHAYE-TARIKHI: "If we examine documents and official sources of the Iranian and tsarist Russian foreign ministries, and books written in Russian until 1918, we see clearly that the lands of Arran and Shirvan were never called Azerbaijan; sometimes they were called Arran and Shirvan, sometimes the Caucasus." However, the Russian Colonel Burnashev in 1786, "long before uniting the northern part of Azerbaijan with Russian" wrote a booklet in which he gave short descriptions of the Azerbaijani provinces and central cities which are "Baku, Guba, Nukha, Shirvan, Ganja, Shusha, Nakhchyvan, Tabriz, Maragha, Urmiya, Khoy, Ardabil, Meshkin and others."

"The facts show that from the 3d century the name Azerbaijan was understood at first administratively, then later geographically referring to both parts; especially in sources from the 17th century onward Azerbaijan was accepted in its unique geographical meaning without distinguishing whether it was north or south of the Araz River. In the ethnic sense, after a certain period, the concept 'Azerbaijanis' meant one people speaking the same language." In Kocharli's literary history of Azerbaijan (1903) "when he said 'Azarbayjanly Tatar,' referring to them as one people, he wrote that Azerbaijanis subject to Russia were settled in the area northeast of the Transcaucasus, and those subject to Iran were in the Azerbaijan administration (Iranian Azerbaijan)." Also in 1903 a Russian consul sent a report on the peoples of northern Iran. He said that "the Azerbaijanis had not forgotten that they were divided into two parts in 1828... The fundamental point is that the population considers itself to be one people..." Another Russian consular official made similar observations in 1911.

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'AZERBAIJANI' LANGUAGE VERSUS 'AZERI' LANGUAGE

Baku PROTIV BURZHUAZNYKH FAL'SIFIKATOROV ISTORII I KUL'TURY AZERBAYDZHANA in Azeri 1978 pp 141-158

[Editorial summary by S. M. Onullahi: "Falsification of the History of the Azerbaijani Language in the Works of Iranian Bourgeois Scholars"]

[Text] "As a result of writers and poets of Azerbaijan being forced to write in Arabic and Farsi by ruling circles at one time, there are no monuments written in the Azerbaijani language prior to the 13th century. Because of this, a number of bourgeois scholars of Iran attempt to falsify Azerbaijan's language history; at the same time, they deny the existence of the Azerbaijani people."

The Iranian historian Kasravi claims that the language of the Azerbaijanis was the Azeri language, and that the Turkic language was brought to Iran at the time of the Seljuk invasion [11th century]. "However, there was a Turkic-speaking population in Azerbaijan as late as the 10th century."

The primary manner of distorting the data is by citing incompletely or non-contextually from the classical sources. Iranian sources published earlier in this century refute this approach. In a journal published in Tehran in 1925 it was noted that in the 12th century Nizami "was buried in Ganja [now Kirovabad] according to Turkic tradition." The medieval historian Qazwini is often quoted out of context. Despite claims of Iranian historians, it is well known that he asserts that "the population of Khoy are basically Turks." The author marshals other medieval authorities in order to prove that there were Turks in Azerbaijan in the early medieval period.

Evidence of the widespread usage of the language of Azerbaijan by the people of Azerbaijan is indicated by the proliferation of Turkic loanwords in Farsi works. There is, however, an ambiguity in the terms Azerbaijani language and Azeri language which led scholars to confuse the Azerbaijani language "with the Azeri language which belongs to the Iranian language group." The author cites some comparative Azerbaijani and Azeri sentences demonstrating the vastness of the gulf between them, noting that "due to an oversight by some of our scholars Azeri language was used as a synonym for the Azerbaijani language in our publications for many years." Numerous examples of the appearance of Azerbaijani words in the Farsi poetical lexicon are cited to demonstrate its influence on other languages in the 13th and 14th centuries.

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"A number of Iranian scholars, closing their eyes to data such as is given above, have chosen several ways to falsify the history of the Azerbaijani language." A number of examples of Iranian scholars searching for Azeri words in the lexicon of the Azerbaijani language are given. It is noted that they do not look for Azeri elements in Farsi or other languages. Completely avoided by Iranian scholars is the profusion of works in the Azerbaijani language from the 14th and 15th centuries "such as those by Imadaddin Nasimi, Shah Gasim Anvar (called Gasimi), Kishvari, Jahanshah Garagoyunlu (called Hagigi) and others... At this period the Azerbaijani language was so powerful that a number of works were translated from Farsi into Azerbaijani."

"By the 16th-17th centuries, Azerbaijani was not only a court language, but was written along with Farsi."

The Iranian scholar Safavi writes that "as a result of cholera spread in the Near East in the 16th century, as well as the Ottoman-Safavid war, the tribes speaking the Azeri language in Azerbaijan and the Caucasus died out... By the end of the 16th century Azerbaijan and the Caucasus had become a Turkic-language...region." Onullahi notes that "when an epidemic spreads it is not partial to a particular language. Secondly, Azerbaijan having been occupied by the Ottomans at the end of the 16th century, many of the Azerbaijanis who made up the vast majority of the army as a result of the Ottoman-Safavid war were killed." In discussing Shah Abbas' resettlement policy [transplanting border peoples to the central provinces], it is mentioned that, as a third point, "many Azerbaijanis migrated to the Iranian central provinces. Despite all this, the Azerbaijani language was strengthened, not eliminated. As for the Azeri language, it was the language of a small Iranian ethnic group and this language was never eliminated. Even now there are a number of villages near Khalkhal where they speak Azeri."

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